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THE ARMS RACE

8 page supplement on the bomb with Duncan Campbell ● E. P. Thompson ● John Minnion ● Peter Kellner ● the Greenham trial

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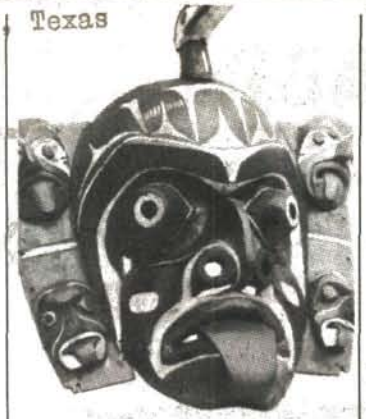
THE ARMS RACE



The Arms War
The *New Statesman*'s 8-page special supplement on the history of the nuclear arms race and the present state of the disarmament negotiations pp.I-VIII

Watching the waves
Paul Jorion reviews a Lévi-Strauss book newly available in English p.20

Letter to Prague
E. P. Thompson's reply to the attack on Western peace movements by the Czech dissident 'Racek' p.12

Secret history
John Spurling considers the exhibition of British landscape art now on at the Hayward p.24

Next week

Raphael Samuel continues his series of articles on Conservatism: No. 3 looks at the way Tory politicians manipulate 'traditional values'

Parents' rights: a young couple are claiming before the European Court that a Midlands local authority has 'kidnapped' their baby. Howard Sharron reports

News: Nuclear reactor for Chile; Borstal boy's suicide; Peace with smears; Anti-crime campaign; Cheap buses; Rural police arsenal; UHT milk pp4-6
Peter Kellner: Political perils of 'practical' unilateralism p.7
Mark Benney: Guilty but justified p.8
Robert Kilroy-Silk MP: Still waiting p.9
Jennifer Armstrong: Loaded dice p.10
Diary: Christopher Price p.11
Roger Woddis p.11
Nick Caistor: Back to barracks p.14
John Kane-Berman: Live and let die p.15
Bretécher p.16
John Minnion: The CND story p.17
Letters p.19
Grace Ingoldby: Fiction p.21
Alan Brien: Paperbacks p.22
Shorter Reviews p.23
Nina Hibbin: Channel 4 p.25
William Boyd: Television p.26
Benedict Nightingale: Theatre p.26
John Coleman: Films p.27
Ruth Fainlight: Poem p.27
Weekend Competition p.28
Anne Smith: First person p.28
Crossword p.29
Listings p.31

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New Statesman Vol 105 No 2709 18 February 1983

CND's next 25 years

CND IS POISED at the most difficult moment in its 25 year history. It is now the single most important and active mass political movement in the country. It has provoked a substantial and so far rather desperate counter-attack by Mrs Thatcher and her government. It is the one organisation that has clearly for the time being 'won' a moral and political argument with that government. Tory policies on other issues – the economy, unemployment, civil rights, immigration – may be incompetent or immoral or both. But attacks on them have not so far managed to upset the facade of Tory confidence. CND has done more than upset the facade. Its campaign has created the situation where the clear majority of the British electorate is now opposed to the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in this country. It has been a remarkable political achievement.

But, while mass political movements of the CND kind are powerful, they are also inherently unstable. By their nature they appeal to people for whom conventional party politics hold little attraction. Their power lies in their ability to cut through the restraining ghettoes of politics and get to issues of fundamental moral importance. (Support for such issues – women's rights, national devolution, or nuclear disarmament – offers the prospect of a fundamental change in the nature of society and politics, a prospect lacking from conventional party manifestoes.) Their instability lies not so much in the fact (of which much is often made) that they are 'single issue' organisations, as that the issues on which they are based rest on a precarious 'spirit of the age'.

It is not, however, true to say that CND is just a single issue movement. Certainly, it is bound by its constitution to unilateral nuclear disarmament. But CND would, of course, prefer to achieve *multilateral* nuclear disarmament, if this was a practical possibility. Many people support and send money to CND, not because they are outright unilateralists, but because CND is the only substantial organisation campaigning for *any* kind of disarmament. Others wish to support a 'peace movement' because it seems to reflect their own fears about the ravages perpetrated on our societies by the international 'military-industrial complex', or out of frustration at the apparent arrogant complacency of professional politicians. Thousands of women, in particular, have identified with a peace movement as much because they see in it a way in which to express their anger at women's alienation from traditional structures of power, as out of concern for NATO policies and the arms race itself.

Now that both the British and the American governments have taken fright and are mounting campaigns to counter the impression that they are unthinking war-mongers, some of the support for the peace movement is bound to drift away. In the last two years President Reagan has undoubtedly been the most effective single recruiting sergeant for CND – he personally, and his administration in general, has chilled European spines by its mixture of incompetence, crass insensitivity and 'Dr Strangelove' attitudes. If during the course of the year the US, the UK and other NATO countries can achieve some kind of nuclear arms limitation, CND and other western peace movements will get very little of the political credit due to them, while at the same time they will lose the support of those whose primary motive for joining was precisely the failure to make any progress in the disarmament field.

IF THIS ANALYSIS is correct, it leaves the national respresentatives of CND and of the political parties of the Left with a huge responsibility. For the moment when spontaneous mass movements lose impetus is the moment when established political organisations come into their own. Their structures are designed for the long haul. As well as responding to the hopes and fears of the grass roots the responsibility now rests on them to initiate and lead political campaigns.

The Labour leadership in particular has to prove that the Party's support for unilateral disarmament and its opposition to American nuclear bases in this country is a real commitment and not just a policy for putting into an election manifesto. It must also play a far more effective role than hitherto in pushing forward the public argument. The Tory government and local party activists have concluded, quite rightly, that the present state of public opinion on the nuclear issue has come about because Tories have not taken public concern seriously, or done much to project government policies in a favourable light.

So far the counter-attack by the government has been fairly crude. The clumsy proposal to use £1 million of public funds for an advertising campaign had to be withdrawn in the face of obvious public disquiet, even among Conservative supporters, at such an abuse. Last week-end's verbal barrage, in which the Prime Minister and others used the examples of Hitler and Nazism to present the peace movement as contemporary lickspittles of Soviet expansionism, was such an obvious political slur that it probably did CND more good than harm.

But the pro-nuclear lobby in this country (and in the US and West Germany) will undoubtedly soon find a more sophisticated line in propaganda and subtler ways of communicating it. What is urgently needed on the Left is the promotion of a realistic alternative defence posture, linking ideas with both the Social Democrats and the 'Greens' in West Germany; combined economic and political programmes for restoring the world economy; and plans for the conversion of the armaments industry to civil production. □

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Will Britain help Chile to make an A-bomb?

THE BRITISH government has secretly asked British companies to supply Chile with a nuclear reactor, which could by the end of the decade provide the Pinochet regime with enough plutonium to manufacture dozens of nuclear weapons. At the centre of the deal is a proposal by the National Nuclear Corporation to sell a 300-Megawatt Magnox-type nuclear reactor to Chile's Nuclear Energy Commission. At the behest of John Moore MP, the Parliamentary Under Secretary at the Department of Energy, salesmen from the British National Nuclear Corporation visited Chile three months ago.

The proposed new reactor would be Chile's first commercial nuclear power plant. Part of the deal offered to Chile includes a guaranteed five-year renewable contract with British Nuclear Fuels Ltd to supply the 300 tons of natural uranium needed to fuel the reactor. An additional 50-60 tons would be needed every year.

Chile has refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), like its two rivals in the Latin American nuclear power race, Argentina and Brazil. The NPT requires all signatories to enforce and comply with safeguards designed to prevent the illicit diversion of nuclear material to make bombs – as happened in India. Chile *has* signed the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which prohibits nuclear weapons within Latin America, but it has not brought the treaty into force.

Under the NPT, Britain has to make sure that items of nuclear technology on a special 'trigger' list are not supplied to any country which does not accept a safeguards agreement administered by the International Atomic Energy Authority, based in Vienna. In a 1974 letter to the IAEA, Britain promised that any reactors or fuel supplied by the UK would come under the terms of the treaty.

In July last year, British Nuclear Fuels and the British Atomic Energy Authority concluded a deal with Chile to supply 40 nuclear fuel rods for their two existing small reactors near Santiago. The rods will contain enriched uranium, a material controlled under Article 3 of the NPT.

In September 1982, a British trade delegation led by junior trade minister Peter Rees visited Chile touting for new business, in the wake of the secret co-operation during the Falklands campaign and after. Included in the delegation were representatives of GEC, who hold a controlling interest in the National Nuclear Corporation.

Rees's visit was rapidly followed up by a secret return visit to Britain by two key figures from the *Comision Chilena de Energia Nuclear* – Lt Gen Herman Brady, the President, and Colonel Juan Mir, the executive director. During their week-long stay at the end of September Brady and Mir agreed with the UK Atomic Energy Authority the terms of inspection which they would allow to the IAEA, in order to fulfil Britain's treaty obligations. They exchanged letters concerning the enriched uranium fuel rods, and held discussions with companies including the NNC about the sale of the Magnox reactor.

The visit of the Chilean officials to Britain was kept completely secret by the Department of Trade. But news of the uranium sale leaked out after Labour MP Judith Hart, leading a Chile Solidarity Campaign delegation, confronted trade minister Rees in a private meeting early in December.

When energy under-secretary John Moore was questioned about the fuel rods deal in Parliament, he claimed that the IAEA had accepted the deal, following an agreement with Chile.

But the proposal to sell a Magnox reactor to Chile was not then mentioned. It is one of three export deals now being pursued by the NNC from its Warrington headquarters. The other countries presently being considered are Turkey – whose military government after the coup by General Kenan Evren has a record on human rights little better than Chile's – and Algeria. Like Chile, Algeria is not a signatory to the NPT.

Two NNC specialists, Mr Roger Vaughan and Mr Clarence Valencia Wagstaff, visited Chile during November for further discussions with General Brady and his staff. The *New Statesman* has obtained copies of the NNC technical brochure, specially translated into Spanish for the purposes of this visit.

The brochure claims that the reactor would be working within five years. The design for the reactor is copied from the 600 Megawatt double station installed in the 1960s at Oldbury-on-Severn, near Bristol. Chile's reactor-operating staff would come to Britain to be trained at Oldbury.

The NNC brochure claims that the reactor would satisfy the requirements of the NPT. 'The fuel route and spent fuel store are', it says, 'designed to facilitate NPT safeguards inspection by the IAEA'. It adds: 'The satisfactory position in regard to both safety and safeguards ensures the full support of the UK government for the construction of this 300MW magnox reactor in client countries'.

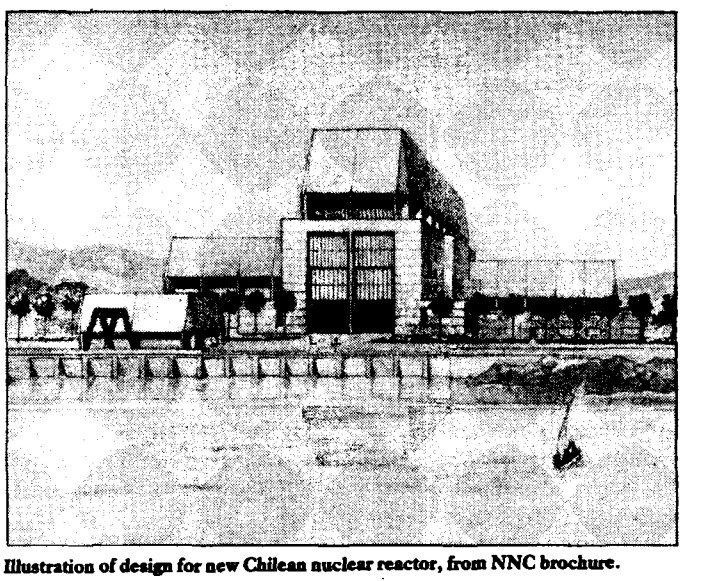

Illustration of design for new Chilean nuclear reactor, from NNC brochure.

The fact that magnox reactors do not require enriched uranium is stressed by the NNC in its brochure as a means of avoiding unwelcome constraints such as are imposed by NPT: 'There is no need to negotiate an enrichment contract and to accept the political obligations which this sometimes entails.'

NNC spokesman Dick Marshall this week confirmed that the company had been trying to sell 300MW Magnox reactors to 'a number of countries', which he refused to name because of 'commercial confidence'. Ironically, several of the NNC staff who are urging Chile, Turkey and Algeria to buy Magnox, including Mr Wagstaff, are currently working at the Sizewell Inquiry, where the NNC is arguing the case that Britain should buy Pressurised Water Reactors rather than the 'proven' Magnox design.

If a reactor were to be ordered by Chile this year, then, according to the NNC's schedules, it would be in operation by the late 1980s. Early in the life of a Magnox reactor, substantial quantities of weapons-grade plutonium are produced, contained in spent fuel rods which have been only lightly burned within the reactor. Chile might be able to divert these rods only with difficulty, but it does have natural uranium supplies of its own, alongside the copper mines in northern Chile.

Chile began extracting uranium commercially in October 1982, at a mine at Chuquicamata. Initially, Chuquicamata will produce 25-30 tons of yellow-cake (uranium ore) a year. The mines could provide a covert means for Chile to obtain nuclear weapons. All that would be needed would be for Chile to manufacture its own fuel elements for irradiation inside the reactor.

The NNC is rumoured to regard Chile privately as a not entirely welcome customer. In addition to its difficulties with the NPT, Pinochet's government has a bad financial reputation quite apart from its poor international standing after the pogroms of leftists and others which followed the 1973 coup.

Chile's Nuclear Energy Commission President, General Brady, was himself involved in the Pinochet coup; he was then the officer commanding the 2nd Army Division.

The planned reactor deal is only one in a series of payoffs to the Pinochet regime provided since last April. Twelve Hunter jets were withdrawn from RAF service and sent to Chile as early as April; they were followed, in October, by 3 Canberra bombers. The UK delegation to the United Nations has, to the Chileans' delight, attempted to sabotage the United Nations human rights inspections within Chile. Last week, Luton District Council heard that a special freight shipping area for exclusive Chilean Air Force use had been created at Luton Airport.

In 1982, according to the Chile Commission for Human Rights, political arrests in the country rose to over 200 a month, and there were at least 100 substantiated reports of torture. Some 2,500 prisoners have disappeared and remain unaccounted for, including British businessman William Beausire and other British dual nationals.

In the course of his visit last September, Peter Rees told the Santiago press that Britain regarded the Pinochet regime as 'a moderating and stabilising influence in Latin Ameria', with which Britain was 'interested in deepening and strengthening political relations'.

Duncan Campbell
Additional research by Duncan Green

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Suicide verdict on Borstal boy

A CORONER's jury sitting at Market Drayton on 28 January has recorded a verdict of suicide on the death of 19-year-old Steven Walmsley (see *NS* 21.1.83). Steven was found dead in his cell at Stoke Heath Borstal last year, hanging from his overall straps. Initially, the jury wished to return a verdict of suicide by strangulation, but this was rejected by the Coroner who insisted on a verdict of suicide by hanging.

Steven was locked in his cell at 2.00pm on 11 October 1982 and was found dead at around 3.30pm. He had hanged himself by attaching the ligature to a ventilation hole in the cell. Giving evidence on the post-mortem of the body the pathologist, Dr P. E. Nichols, noted small abrasions around the ligature mark on the neck and on one hand – which were consistent with attempts to remove the ligature. Traces of blood were also found on the ventilation hole.

During his summing up, Peter Hammond, deputy Coroner for the area, indicated there could be three possible verdicts: Suicide, Accidental Death and an Open Verdict. In explaining the definition of each verdict, the Coroner mistakenly asserted that Accidental Death was the same as Misadventure; and shortly after retiring the jury had to return to ask for the Coroner's definition of an Open Verdict which he had not provided in his summing up.

Ambiguity concerning inquest verdicts has been a feature in a number of cases of death in police custody and prisons. An inquest jury recently recorded a verdict of Lack of Care on the death of Jim Heather-Hayes who was found hanging in his cell at Ashford Remand Centre. However, the Coroner failed to mention Lack of Care as a possible verdict in his summing up of Steven Walmsley's case.

Doubts about how Steven died still remain. Two months before his death Steven was taken to hospital with a broken jaw. The Governor of the Borstal, Mr Alexander Cruickshank, said that the incident had been investigated and the Borstal authorities were 'certain' that Steven had accidentally 'slipped in the showers.' However, in cross-examination of the witnesses during the inquest, it emerged that Steven had in fact been assaulted by another inmate in the recreation room. This was confirmed by a detective superintendent from West Mercia police who told the inquest that from his investigations he had established that Steven's injury was not accidental. Police were pursuing the matter.

Steven was cremated by the Borstal Authorities in the absence of his family. They live in the Leeds area but learned of the funeral arrangements only when they received a letter from Mr Cruickshank on 22 October, the day of the cremation. The letter was sent on 20 October. The Governor gave no explanation for this delay.

Mark Urbanowicz

Mark Urbanowicz is a worker for Inquest, a pressure group for reform of Coroners' procedures.

Peace with smears

On the left, a leaflet produced by CND; on the right, a leaflet produced by an anti-CND outfit, the Coalition for Peace through Security. Peter Kennard, who designed the cover of the CND leaflet, objects to having a hammer and sickle superimposed on his picture. He is taking the Coalition to court for 'flagrant breach of copyright'.

MISCELLANY

Taking comfort

Zimbabwe's disgraced High Commissioner to London, who has been recalled following his unauthorised purchase of a £700,000 official residence in Mayfair, can comfort himself with the thought that he is not alone in his delusions of grandeur. His counterpart, Britain's High Commissioner in Zimbabwe, Ronald Byatt, has spent £170,000 of British taxpayers' money on buying (and another hefty sum on refurbishing) an absurdly luxurious mansion in the plush Harare suburbs, complete with extensive gardens, tennis courts, squash court and the obligatory swimming pool. Property prices in Harare are rather lower than those in London, so that even a £75,000 house is normally considered to be at the very top end of the market. Perhaps someone at the FO thinks that Zimbabwe is still Rhodesia; after all, junior foreign minister Cranley Onslow called the country by its old name when he was out there recently.

Out of line

News Line, the daily newspaper of the Workers' Revolutionary Party, is an idiosyncratic mixture of left-wing politics and football pin-ups. But it is, apparently, not a newspaper: only publications as majestic and thoughtful as (say) the *Sun* can be dignified with that title. Or so the rozzers seem to think; for on 24 January a reporter and a photographer from *News Line* were prevented from attending a press conference given by the new Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman. 'We have been subsequently informed,' says the paper's editor, Paul Jennings, 'that Scotland Yard has withdrawn all press facilities for *News Line* on the grounds that it is a "political broadsheet and not a newspaper".' As Thomas Jefferson once put it: 'No government ought to be without censors; and, where the press is free, none ever will.'

Glasgow rangers

Suspicious folk north of the border believe that Lonrho is quietly signalling that its Scottish newspapers – the *Glasgow Herald, Evening Times* and *Sunday Standard* – are up for sale. These three papers occupy the former Beaverbrook premises in Albion Street, Glasgow. Oddly enough, billboards in the area are currently full of advertisements promoting Robert Maxwell's British Printing and Communications Corporation: might this be Maxwell's way of saying that he wants the papers? If so, it will not be his first attempt to become a Scottish press baron: in the 1970s he became involved in the ill-fated *Scottish Daily News*, the worker-controlled paper which was set up in Albion Street when Beaverbrook withdrew its Scottish operations to Manchester. But Maxwell should tread with care. Glasgow pub wits talk of 'The Curse of Albion Street', pointing out that since 1929 no fewer than six titles have died there.

Radical re-launch

While Tiny Rowland and Robert Maxwell perform their weird courtship ritual in Albion Street, Scottish radicals are trying to create an alternative forum for news, ideas and arguments. At a lunchtime booze-up last Saturday, the new bi-monthly magazine *Radical Scotland* was unveiled to the waiting world. Unfortunately the launch party suffered some of the drawbacks that could afflict the magazine itself: it was packed with the nationalist Left, but contained only a smattering of Labour Party activists. Nevertheless, the editorial collective has shown an awareness of the need to rise above the petty sectarianism that often embitters Scottish radical politics. There is also an awareness of the need for money: the large bottles of wine consumed at the launch party were provided at the personal expense of the collective. *Radical Scotland's* predecessor, *Crann Tara*, was kept alive only because of heavy subsidies paid by its editor. The producers of *Radical Scotland* recognise that they will have to win much more advertising than the single page in their first issue. Can they expose Scottish capitalism *and* exploit it for essential revenue?

Blood-curdling

In a friendly profile of Norman Tebbit, published in the *Guardian* last week, John Torode suggested that nothing was known about the employment secretary's wife and kiddies. Not so. If Mr Torode (who is, by the by, the SDP candidate for Saffron Walden) visits the indoor nets at Lord's cricket ground, he will see a plaque honouring the winner of the senior award for Lord's Taverner MCC Cricketer of the Year, 1982. The winner in question is one W. M. Tebbit – a.k.a. Son of Dracula. It is by no means impossible that young Tebbit will be playing for his country ere long (just as soon as the undemocratic selectors are replaced by a secret postal ballot). Lay in reserve supplies of garlic *now*.

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Anti-crime campaign behind closed windows

WHAT HAS been billed as 'the largest crime prevention campaign ever to be held' in England and Wales is unlikely to have a significant effect on crime levels and is out of accord with current official thinking on crime prevention.

The campaign, launched by William Whitelaw on 9 February, is costing £1.4 million and concentrates on advising people to buy window locks. It follows a pilot exercise run in Yorkshire last winter. The official measure of the success of the pilot is, according to the Home Office, that it 'doubled the sales of window locks'. The Home Office does not know what happened to crime.

The national campaign actually began on 1 October last year, when manufacturers of security devices were invited to the Home Office and given warning to increase their production. Chubb, the brand leader, has consequently doubled its production of locks and is launching its own advertising campaign next week to coincide with the Home Office publicity.

During the Yorkshire campaign, manufacturers criticised the Home Office for not giving them enough notice. Although Chubb ran out of window locks, it did increase the value of its sales over the year by almost 13 per cent. The group's operating profit rose from £12.9 million to £16 million.

Whitelaw's single-minded devotion to window-locks is out of tune with the views expressed at a private three-day seminar held at Bramshill police staff college last September, at which senior civil servants, chief constables and local authority chief executives discussed how to make crime prevention one of the major objectives of all local authority planning. A report of the seminar has recently been circulated to participants.

In his introduction to the report, Sir Brian Cubbon of the Home Office argues that crime is a worse evil 'even than unemployment or inflation'. He thinks that the 'Scarman' consultative committees 'could have simply been taken as a means of obliging the police to take account of the wishes of the community, which would have been a distorted view'. Instead, they should be 'seen as a way of ensuring that the community see it as a duty to support and help the police and to help themselves'.

In Sir Brian's view, the 'springs of criminality' which lie in a person's character and 'ineffective supervision and discipline' must not he overlooked when exploring environmental facts. However, this attitude was not shared by other seminar participants. The chief executive of Strathclyde Council stated the need for 'changes in local policing practice' because of the police's poor relations with the public. Neville Teller of the DHSS reminded listeners that Homer and Horace had found the adolescent male a degenerate thing, and that most youths outgrow their natural criminal tendencies. Bill Woof of the Department of Environment stressed the role that poorly managed and designed estates had in creating crime. In the seminar workshops, youth unemployment and the economic climate were cited as factors in crime.

The report suggests that either police authorities should be responsible for coordinating crime prevention work, or this should be a new priority for the local authority chief executive.

The report adds: 'It was also felt to be important to broaden the image of crime prevention to include a range of imaginative measures which went beyond the 'lock and bolts" approach and found their origin in a precise understanding of the nature of crime.'

The week after the seminar, Willie Whitelaw told the hardware companies of his new £1.4 million 'lock and bolts' approach.

Sarah Benton

On the buses

CHEAP BUS fares can not only make drivers leave the car at home but can also persuade people that it is not worth learning to drive, according to an Oxford University study of South Yorkshire's cheap bus fares, published this week. The conventional wisdom has always been that no matter how good public transport is people will still prefer to drive cars where they can, with consequent effects on road congestion and pollution.

The report says 'small numbers of households found the combination of high motoring costs and acceptable levels of public transport such that they were simply not bothered about learning to drive, or getting a car.' It goes on to point out this effect is more significant in the long term, because young people who do not learn to drive now, are unlikely to learn to drive later in life, unless public transport deteriorates.

According to the study, the number of passengers on South Yorkshire's buses increased by three per cent over five years. During the same period in the rest of the country the number of bus passengers fell by a quarter. The result is all the more impressive because the population of South Yorkshire fell by two per cent and the number of jobs fell by five per cent, reducing the number of passengers taking the bus to get to work.

The report is likely to be an embarrassment to the government, which is currently pushing the Transport Bill through Parliament. This Bill aims to prevent counties like South Yorkshire pursuing cheap fares policies.

Mick Hamer

* *Subsidised Public Transport and the Demand for Travel*, published by Transport Studies Unit, Oxford University on 16 February.

Police arsenal in Welsh villages

DETAILS of the extraordinary level of weaponry held by one of Britain's most rural police forces are emerging following the hunt earlier this month for a man who robbed a North Wales post office.

When the thief, who brandished what appeared to be a shotgun, made off with £1,000 from the village shop-cum-post office at Frongoch, near Bala, the North Wales police promptly drafted men in to search the area. Despite a massive and conspicuous police operation, no suspect has been caught. The police brought with them – with the aid of an RAF helicopter – a formidable arsenal. A number of the weapons are more usually seen at Embassy sieges in capital cities or in countries where the rifle has already been elevated to the status of an instrument of policy.

A firearms expert who has advised police on weaponry, viewed several hundred feet of film shot during the unsuccessful operation, and identified the Heckler & Koch HK33 as the cream of the police's stock. A handy weapon weighing less than 10 lb., it can loose off about 60 rounds per minute on semi-automatic and a good deal more on automatic.

Heckler & Koch GmbH, which has its headquarters near Stuttgart in West Germany, is a major international arms supplier. Its products have been bought by more than 30 countries, including Chile, Turkey, Saudia Arabia and Iran.

According to the expert the USA Mossberg pump-action riot gun, the Heckler & Koch 40 mm launcher for gas grenades and rubber bullets and the Hungarian Viking shot gun were also on parade along with Smith & Wesson revolvers and bolt action rifles, probably Enfield Enforcers or their near relatives. Estimates of the number of weapons issued for the chase vary between 20 and 50. North Wales' chief constable David Owen refuses to say how many guns were issued.

According to the Home Office Welsh police were authorised to carry guns on five occasions in 1971. In 1981 the total was 68.

Tony Heath

Land of milk and money

IF UHT or Long Life milk were as undrinkable as Agriculture Minister Peter Walker claimed last week why has Britain spent nearly four years in endless battles to keep the noxious stuff out? Surely no right-drinking English person would ever voluntarily touch ultra heat treated milk?

The fact is that the dairy industry is terrified that UHT will sell well, and that this is only a prelude to the opening up of our borders to imports of pasteurised milk. The price control system which has kept the price of milk way above the pressure of market forces would then crumble. In Britain, the traditional pint of milk is still at least 3p-4p dearer than elsewhere in the EEC because of an archaic system under which milk sold as liquid is 20-30 per cent *dearer* than the liquid equivalent of butter and cheese etc.

The EEC dairy market is supported by intervention systems for butter and skim powder. Liquid milk is not supported so that the ban on liquid milk imports into Britain allows British dairy companies and farmers to sustain their high price.

Union Laitière of Normandy, one of the biggest co-ops in Europe, tested British import laws in the spring of 1979. Their UHT cartons were impounded at Portsmouth and subsequently the European Court found for Britain on the quaint grounds that British law prohibited the sale of metric measures – a law which was in fact rescinded a few months later. The French took the case to the European Court again, and last Tuesday got the decision in their favour.

Britain has been allowed to set its own standards for UHT but these must apply to home-produced as well as imported milk. (Despite Mr Walker's derogatory claims about French dairy hygiene, the bacterial count standards in Britain were very poor until the Milk Marketing Board demanded some improvements last year. Ironically, the British team investigating standards at Union Laitière two years ago found the UHT plant there was made in Britain.)

Various defensive measures for British dairy farmers are being hinted at; Mr Walker told Brussels journalists that the administrative costs for admitting UHT milk will be so costly that the price differential will disappear. Whitehall is suggesting that it will take several months to work out new procedures on imports. But a decisive factor at Strasbourg was that UHT cream from Germany has been sold in Britain for years – as has Irish UHT milk. Although UHT milk is more expensive to treat, it can be stored longer and more cheaply.

Barry Wilson

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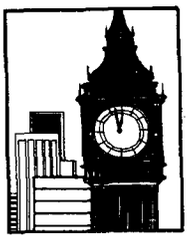

PETER KELLNER, Political Editor

The political perils of 'practical' unilateralism

WHEN MICHAEL FOOT first set out, more than two years ago, to make nuclear disarmament one of the big issues that could swing the result of the next general election, it was tempting to belittle his efforts and to question his political judgment. Didn't the old boy know that few voters cared about anything except bread-and-butter issues like unemployment and inflation?

The old boy's judgment looks less ridiculous today. It is now clear that only unemployment will exceed defence as an election issue; and defence could emerge as an even greater vote-switching topic than the economy. For while most people still say that unemployment is the biggest problem facing the government, many of them say wearily that no party can solve it. They will worry about unemployment, or fear it, or moan about it, or resign themselves to it, or seek to avoid it – but not change their vote because of it.

Nuclear disarmament is different. There is something the government can do about it – indeed, there are clear and momentous decisions that must be made: whether or not to allow cruise missiles into Britain; whether or not to buy the new Trident missile system; whether or not to keep Polaris. Whatever impact the result of the next election has on the dole queues, it is bound to have a decisive impact on Britain's policy towards nuclear weapons.

Mr Foot saw this point before most politicians. His immediate aim – to lift nuclear disarmament higher up the political agenda – has been achieved. But two vital questions continue to nag: might not Labour end up losing more votes than it gains on this issue? And, specifically, how can Mr Foot best escape the charge of fudging when he claims to be both a unilateralist and a multilateralist?

A MORI poll conducted last month for the *Sunday Times* highlighted the double-edged character of the nuclear debate. While Labour had an eight per cent lead over the Tories as the party with the best policies on *disarmament*, the Tories had a 23 per cent lead over Labour as the best party on *defence*. So if Labour persuades enough voters that the argument is about disarmament, it should gain ground – but if, instead, Michael Heseltine persuades voters that the issue is one of defence, then it may be the Tories who garner the extra support.

Or take ORC's poll for last Sunday's *Weekend World*. Like all other recent surveys it found widespread hostility to cruise missiles – although, worryingly for Labour, the pro-cruise minority now seems larger than it was a few months ago. What was new in the ORC survey was the clear finding that much of the hostility to cruise is rooted in anti-Americanism, rather than in dislike of nuclear weapons. 64 per cent told ORC they had little or no confidence in America's ability to deal wisely with world problems; and if Britain were to have joint control over the missiles, 28 per cent of those who now oppose cruise say they might change their minds.

In other words, much of the opposition to cruise comes from a very different position from that of the Labour Party – it comes from people who wish to *increase* Britain's access to nuclear weapons, rather than to relinquish that access. At present no party represents the keep-Britain-nuclear-and-distrust-the-Yanks strand of public opinion.

LABOUR CANNOT hope to offer people who hold such views a comfortable political home; at best it can weaken their traditional commitment to the Conservative Party by stressing how little effective influence Britain would have in a crisis over the use of cruise missiles.

But Labour in return is vulnerable to attack by the Tories – not just along the usual lines of 'putting Britain's defences at risk', but on the grounds that Labour's disarmament policy represents a fudge designed to keep the wings of the party together, rather than a coherent strategy designed to make Britain safer. Is Labour's policy unilateralist or multilateralist? Both, Mr Foot invariably replies – generally to a disbelieving look on the face of his interviewer. That's it, then, the expression seems to say: another Footie fudge – how sad, how very sad.

Yet it need not be a fudge. Indeed, as some of the recent arguments within both the Church of England Synod and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament show, the vital division among disarmers is not between unilateralists and multilateralists, but between 'fundamental' and 'practical' unilateralists – that is, between those who reject British association with any western nuclear strategy, whatever the consequences of severing those links, and those who propose unilateralist policies as a means of promoting wider, multilateral nuclear disarmament.

Mr Foot's position is clearly intended to be that of a 'practical' unilateralist. It could scarcely be anything else, as the fundamentalist view requires Britain's withdrawal from NATO, and that course has been ruled out by successive Labour conferences. But what does 'practical' unilateralism actually involve?

One of the clearest answers comes in *The Church and the Bomb**, the report of the Bishop of Salisbury's working party. In the public argument that culminated last week in the defeat of the bishop's views at the Synod, few people noticed the highly pragmatic nature of the working party's thinking. Its view is very far from fundamentalist:

> The whole logic of non-proliferation demands that states should not all have to have their own nuclear weapons in order to reap whatever benefits there may be in nuclear deterrence. It would be perfectly proper for a government to say: 'We do not rule out the use of nuclear weapons in all circumstances, but we do think it better for the world that as few states as possible should possess them. We are therefore renouncing our own . . . We accept whatever loss of security this may involve, in order to lessen the risk of nuclear war.'

A more detailed policy is advocated in a paper, circulating in CND, by Malcolm Chalmers of the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University. Mr Chalmers considers what CND's next objective should be if its campaign to stop cruise and cancel Trident succeeds. Mr Chalmers suggests other unilateralist measures, such as a freeze on all British nuclear weapons deployment, development and testing. But he does *not* advocate the immediate scrapping of Polaris:

> The government should offer to scrap Polaris in return for an equivalent reduction in Soviet medium-range missiles – i.e. the SS20s . . . Such a proposal could command support which a more straightforward unilateralism would not, while still achieving a further de-escalation of the arms race.

This view – which Mr Chalmers offers as an 'interim demand' for CND to campaign on – is likely to be very similar to Labour's disarmament policy at the next general election. The party will seek to scrap Polaris as part of a deal with the Russians.

If such negotiations succeed, the policy would be triumphantly vindicated. But what if they fail? Would a Labour government then keep Polaris – and would CND support it if it did? The 'practical' unilateralist can never escape that kind of dilemma. Mr Foot, to be fair, has not tried to; but neither has he spelt out publicly what problems, as well as hopes, he foresees for his policy. It is time he did. □

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Guilty but justified

This week 41 Greenham Common women appeared in court under a Statute of 1361. Mark Benney looks at the law

> We who are here accused are prepared to suffer imprisonment because we believe that this is the most effective way of working for the salvation of our country and the world.
> Bertrand Russell, 12 September 1961

> I believe in the wider sense I am not guilty, but purely in the technical sense I am guilty. I have 100,000 people behind me.
> Pat Arrowsmith, 18 September 1961

IT WOULD NOT BE completely accurate to say that the peace movement has come full circle in the last 20 years. Now, CND finds itself committed to non-violent direct action at the head of a mass movement. During the last upsurge, the Committee of 100 found itself isolated from 'official' CND because of its strategy of organised civil disobedience.

The Peace Camp women at Greenham Common have so far formed the new disobedient vanguard. It is important not to underestimate their achievement from a strategic viewpoint. In an interview in March 1981 April Carter, one of the many C100 members who found themselves behind bars at regular intervals in the early sixties, put forward a partial analysis of those early setbacks:

> The idea of building up a really strong local direct action base, which was behind the notion of decentralisation didn't work. There were local demonstrations but they never became that firm a movement and gradually went into decline.

Already the women are veterans of a number of police actions, and some have been imprisoned for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace. (Although the justices' statutory power to bind over dates back to the time of Edward III, its applicability in public order cases was challenged, albeit unsuccessfully, as recently as 1913 in a case called *Lansbury v. Riley.*)

This week 41 members of the peace camp were brought before the Newbury magistrates to answer a complaint about the invasion of the base on New Year's Day. They were asked to 'show cause' why they should not be bound over to keep the peace. Counsel for the complainant was happy to rely on the Divisional Court's ruling in *Lansbury* as authority for the magistrates' power under the 1361 Act to bind over 'disturbers of the peace'.

Civil libertarians in the United States have a similar, if not stronger, tradition of principled law-breaking. The difference between the two lies in the legal framework against which such activity takes place. American legal theorists John Rawls and Ronald Dworkin seek to justify these tactics not only in political but also in legal terms, and within the context of constitutional liberal democracy.

Dworkin bases his argument on the anti-draft protests and the incitement prosecutions of the mid-sixties:

> The popular view that the law is the law and must always be enforced refuses to distinguish the man who acts on his own judgment of a doubtful law, *and thus behaves as our practices provide,* from the common criminal.

In effect Dworkin says that disobedience is justified and legal when it is directed against a law which is demonstrably *unconstitutional.* (My italics throughout.)

This is the nub of the distinction between the American and UK traditions: we have no written constitution, no clear standard against which to test particular policies.

Rawls avoids this problem by adopting a broader approach. The model is still liberal democracy, but the standard becomes the liberal theory of justice, or 'justice as fairness'. He defines civil disobedience as 'a public, non-violent, conscientious yet political act contrary to law usually done with the aim of bringing about a change in the law or policies of the government'.

Such arguments, however, have never found favour in British courts, nor are they likely to in the next round of prosecutions.

ONE OF THE MOST significant illustrations from the early sixties was the Trafalgar Square demonstration of 17 September 1961. On the 12th, 32 anti-bomb figures, including Earl and Lady Russell, had been summoned for incitement to commit a breach of the peace. They all refused to be bound over and were imprisoned for seven days. The following exchange took place between C100 member Ralph Schoenman, cross-examining the officer, a Sergeant Oakley, and the bench:

> *Schoenman:* Do you consider preparations for war a breach of the peace?
> *Reece:* I cannot allow you to ask that.
> *Schoenman:* It is quite relevant, your worship.
> *Reece:* You are not going to tell me what is relevant. Disallowed.

(There were distinct echoes of this exchange during the first day of this week's Newbury hearing. Rebecca Johnson, representing herself, asked Squadron Leader Meredith [the commanding officer of RAF Greenham Common] some pertinent questions about security at the base and the deployment plans for cruise. She was stopped when the Chairman of the lay bench, Mr D. H. Barton, said: 'You're not doing your case any good at all. He doesn't have to answer these questions.')

On the day, the protest took place. 1,314 people were arrested, including Canon Collins, Vanessa Redgrave, John Osborne and Fenner Brockway. The charge against Collins was eventually dismissed. Brockway was particularly incensed, since he attended as a parliamentary observer with the express approval of the Home Secretary. Less than half of those arrested were given bail. Hundreds of demonstrators were subsequently fined, processed in groups of 30. A stream of defendants at Clerkenwell Magistrates' Court pleaded 'Guilty but justified'.

On 17 October the NCCL published a booklet documenting the civil rights abuses of the day. There were numerous allegations of unnecessary police violence, and most of those arrested were refused access to lawyers. Lord Kilbracken said at a news conference: 'There appears to have been a concerted effort by the police to get rid of all responsible representatives of Parliament, the press, and television before this organised assault started.' He claimed that an ITV crew were threatened with arrest if they attempted to film the demonstration and were escorted from the Square by police.

Later in the Commons Minister of State at the Home Office, Renton, said that 'insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to support the allegations'. In the Lords the Lord Chancellor said there were 'no grounds whatsoever for suggesting that those in

New Year's Day: over the top

Pam Isherwood

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charge of the operation either ordered or would have condoned the use of unnecessary force'.

THE MAIN LEGAL confrontation of the period was the trial of the 'Wethersfield 6' at the Old Bailey in 1962. Terry Chandler, Ian Dixon, Trevor Hatton, Pat Pottle, Michael Randle and Helen Allegranza were charged with conspiracy to commit an offence under section 1 (i) of the Official Secrets Act 1911. C100 had planned to invade the USAF base at Wethersfield to 'reclaim' it and to prevent aircraft, which they believed to be armed with nuclèar weapons, from taking off. In the event protesters were confronted with 5,000 RAF Regiment guards and 2,000 police with dogs, and failed to get in.

The conspiracy trial went ahead, and the six were duly convicted. Their appeal to the Court of Appeal failed but they were given leave to appeal to the House of Lords (*Chandler v. D.P.P.* [1964] Appeal Cases page 763). The Lords held that it was perfectly legitimate to use the Official Secrets Act in cases not involving espionage, and rejected the argument that the conspirators' 'purpose' was not 'prejudicial', but beneficial to 'the interests of the State'. Their 'indirect purposes or motives' were irrelevant, as long as it could be shown that their direct purpose was obstruction or interference, and that this was of prejudice to the 'defence dispositions' of the State.

(The forum of the Magistrates' Court this week allowed more scope for argument than might have been expected in the Crown Court. Peace Studies lecturer Sarah Perrigo was able to set out, uninterrupted, the case against cruise and 'flexible response'.)

Most significantly in *Chandler*, the Lords held that the judge at the trial was right to exclude evidence and cross-examination on the question of the propriety of a nuclear defence policy. Lord Devlin said: 'The court is not the forum for such a debate and the jury is not the body to determine what the interests of the State should be.'

Viscount Radcliffe went out of his way to say that the decision was necessarily a legal rather than a political one. But Lord Devlin was undoubtedly the most uncomfortable Law Lord in the case. He attacked some of the Attorney-General's wilder submissions as quite 'unconstitutional', and commented at the end of his speech:

> Furthermore (their own expressed determination to break the law notwithstanding), it is the duty of this House to see that men and women who have a creed they want to preach in no case pay any penalty for their faith unless they have taken themselves out of the protection of the law by doing that which the law forbids.

If the deployment of cruise goes ahead, CND cannot rule out the possibility that the Official Secrets law will again be used against it.

On 30 January Gunter Grass said in Frankfurt: 'If, against all reason, these instruments of genocide are deployed, only resistance can help.' He may be right. But this much is certain: the English magistracy and judiciary are unlikely to be in any mood to discuss the matter. □

DETENTION

Still waiting

Robert Kilroy-Silk reviews the courts' appalling record

EVEN THE GUILTY are entitled to an early trial, especially if they are being held on remand in custody. It is even more important that the innocent shuld be kept inside for as short a time as possible.

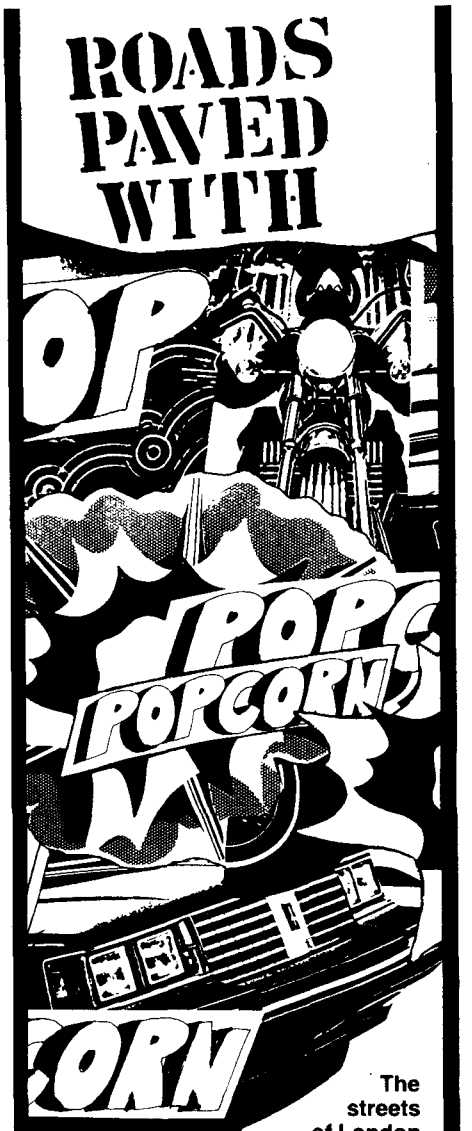
Reporting in 1979, the May Committee pointed out that 'remand periods in England and Wales are frequently excessively long and have generally been increasing.' It went on to say that there was a need to do 'everything possible to bring defendants in custody to trial as soon as possible.' Yet on 30 September last year there were 50 persons in custody who have been waiting for over 18 months; 60 for a year to 18 months; 500 for over six months. In all, there were 5,600 persons who had been in custody for over three months.

These times are excessive by any standards. They are made worse by the fact that a substantial proportion of those held on remand in custody are eventually found not guilty, or given a non-custodial sentence.

A staggering 2,023 of the 3,696 women received on remand in 1981 were given non-custodial sentences – as were 17,328 of the 59,058 men received. Yet every one of them will already have served a custodial sentence. What makes the whole situation so much more indefensible is that remand prisoners are housed in the local prisons which are the most overcrowded and which have the worst physical conditions.

But these are the lucky ones. Because of a combination of overcrowding, industrial action by prison officers and the collapse of cell blocks, it is now necessary to contain up to 200 prisoners a time *below ground* in London's police and court cells. They are held two to a minute cell – with no window, with mattresses next to each other on the floor, with no personal possessions, no exercise, no showers or baths and, in the case of Camberwell, with access to visitors and lawyers through the spyhole in the cell door.

And none of this need happen. *It does not happen in Scotland.* The 1975 Criminal Procedure Act provides that a person must be brought for trial within 110 days and his trial concluded within that period. If it is not, then he must be released and declared free from all further action. If it can work in Scotland then it can also work in England and Wales. All that is lacking is the political will. The Home Secretary should visit the people held below ground at Highbury or Camberwell. He would then find the political will. □



The streets of London might have been paved with gold in Dick Whittington's day. In these less romantic times, however, asphalt is the generally accepted substitute. That's not to say London paving need be prosaic. On a stretch of the A40 in Hammersmith, for instance, the road is experimentally laid with popcorn. Not the stuff of cinema lobbies and sticky fingers, but a blend of rock and bitumen specially formulated by Mobil. The open, popcorn-like texture of the road draws rain water from the surface to the roadbed, leaving the driving area safe and dry – even in the wettest London weather. So the road to Hammersmith (or at least a portion of the A40) is paved not only with popcorn, but with good intentions as well.

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SIZEWELL

Loaded dice

Jennifer Armstrong suggests that the inquiry, now in its second month, has become a charade

CEGB PROOF 12 – the electricity board's case on 'Pressure Vessel Integrity and the Incredibility of Failure of Other Components' – is not a popular one. The chap at the back of the 800-seat hall looks ordinary enough, but the presence of the small mike into which he talks suggests otherwise. A group of police officers pass the day constructing an elaborate maze in the foyer to reduce the draughts.

Since 11 January, CEGB witnesses have sat at the front of the hall, reading out proofs. A full cross-examination will not take place until April at the earliest. When their turn comes, objectors will not be permitted to read their proofs; they will be taken as read. On Tuesday mornings, objectors may raise procedural matters relating to the conduct of the Inquiry – providing, that is, that the matters have first been approved by the Inspector. The oddity regarding proof reading has been well covered. The Inspector explains that the Board witnesses are reading theirs in order to assist objectors which seems to overlook a fundamental problem. Because of their lack of money, objectors are hardly ever present.

Of course, most objectors were well aware of the wider shortcomings of the Inquiry system – the lack of public funds for their cases, the David and Goliath syndrome – when they made a decision to participate. The procedural inequalities, however, come as a surprise. Apart from the proof-reading saga, there is the question of opening and closing speeches. Lord Silsoe QC, for the CEGB, spent two days on his introduction and one assumes he will take even longer over his summing up. Objectors were told that they must choose between an opening or a closing speech; either, but not both. Since the Inquiry is being organised in terms of discrete topics (e.g. need and economics, safety, local environmental factors), objectors' cases will be fragmented. They consider, therefore, that there is a need both to set the overall scene at the start and to pull together the many, related threads at the end. After an Inquiry likely to last over a year, this does not seem too much to ask. Following complaints, a compromise has been reached whereby those opting for a closing speech may make a short summary of their case at the start.

Another surprise for objectors was the instruction that no less than 80 copies of statements of case and proofs of evidence were needed. This appeared to apply even to Mr and Mrs Smith from Leiston, who were plucking up courage to make a short statement about the anticipated extra lorries passing their front door. Following negotiations 'parties who envisage difficulty in providing the required number' have been advised to contact the Secretariat. The fact that these are points of detail does not diminish their significance to objectors. With so much apparently stacked against them, a smooth path over the smaller bumps might have been prudent.

MEANWHILE, THE MOST serious complaints are about the lack of CEGB documents. The Suffolk Preservation Society wants details of comparative studies in order to be convinced that Sizewell is the number one site. The GLC is the latest in a long line calling for details of the design of the flasks that will carry the spent fuel through the metropolis to Windscale. The Board now pleads that the information cannot be released on grounds of sabotage risks and commercial confidentiality. But why, says the inspector, did you not give these reasons months ago, when first asked to release the details? It did not seem to be necessary to do so, comes the reply.

Site selection and flask design, however, are trifles compared to the deficiencies in the documentation concerning the actual reactor. What happened to the promised six-month period between publication of the safety case and the start of the Inquiry? Why has the NII failed to keep the agreement, given to the Select Committee in March 1980, that the reactor would be in a position to be licensed before the Inquiry started? Friends of the Earth, the chief protagonists in the safety case, produced a closely argued request for adjourning those aspects of the Inquiry relating to safety until the information was available and adequate time to assess it had elapsed. If this was allowed, others felt that the whole Inquiry should be adjourned since the design closely affects the economics of the whole proposal. Board chairman Sir Walter Marshall has already stated that NII changes may add substantially to the cost – and if ever a case hung on economics, it is this one.

Predictably, the Inspector has deferred reaching a decision on this tricky issue. Having given the NII what amounted to a public reprimand he agreed, if requested, to review the situation in mid-March. Whether the NII should have taken the rap in this way is doubtful, although their constant talk of an 'iterative' process – the buzz word at the Inquiry – may need revision. A decision to adjourn the hearing for any appreciable length of time would surely need government sanction. Since this government's Energy Secretary has said, only a couple of weeks ago, that the country must press ahead with a nuclear power programme 'irrespective of the outcome of the Sizewell Inquiry', such a postponement is unlikely.

The current stage of the Inquiry allows cross examination for elucidation only. This facility has not been greatly used by objectors. As they are not in permanent attendance at the Inquiry they find it difficult to synchronise any questions with the unpredictable reading speeds of Board witnesses. However, questioning did elicit an admission that electricity consumption has been overestimated by an average of 26 per cent over the last ten years, and an admission that the very earliest date by which construction should start is 1985 – and then only if there is sudden economic reflation. It also drew out the statement that THORP (the Windscale reprocessing plant) is not expected to have a life of more than ten years, so that spent fuel from Sizewell B and, indeed, from some existing reactors will not be reprocessed there. Reprocessing plants are best sited where the spent fuel is being stored, but where this will be no one seemed to know. Finally, the CEGB's fascinating habit of attributing a zero value to plutonium was taken up. 'We felt' said the witness on cross examination, 'our calculations are complicated enough as they stand and to add a further degree of complication into the calculation would just make the Inquiry longer and more tedious and so on and so forth . . .'

But the technical details of the safety case which are now in full swing are beyond elucidation for most of us. And sitting here in this near-empty hall one is bound to ask oneself whether the Inquiry merits the prefix 'Public'. One of those rare members of the public, frustrated at his own inability to unravel the mysteries of Purchasing Power Parity, was moved to call out:
MOP: This is meant to be a Public Inquiry.
Inspector: Please sit down.
MOP: I am a member of the public.
Inspector: You are here and you are entitled to listen. You are not entitled to interrupt.
MOP: I am here and I am entitled to listen and say that I don't understand . . .

THIS ENGLAND

£3 book tokens for entries printed (on postcards, please).

☐ The Queen, who is head of the Church of England, has personally offered to pay for new cassocks for the clergy of four cathedrals because she objected to them wearing scarlet, it was disclosed last night. – *Daily Telegraph* (G. Moor)

☐ Councillors at Droitwich, Worcestershire, say tenants are using citizen's band radios to warn each other of the rent man's approach. – *The Times* (Russell Holmes)

☐ Organisers of the Wednesday night Hilltop Country Music Club have had to remind folk recently that they are not allowed to discharge firearms on club premises. – *Welwyn & Hatfield Review* (V. E. Cox)

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DIARY

Christopher Price

With Michael Heseltine for free, what need have the Tories of Saatchi and Saatchi? I first encountered his PR talents when, as President of the Oxford Union, he hired Lady Docker to grace the opening of his new night club in the Union cellars; after he left Oxford and had a somewhat foreshortened period of National Service, I watched in admiration while he played the brilliant magazine proprietor, while actually making money out of property. Then, after his translation to the Commons and his Mace twirling drum majorette act in 1976, he had clearly graduated as the Tory party's Mr Rent-a-Gimmick, and I wasn't in the least surprised when he came to Lewisham Parish Church on Friday to 'Light a Candle for Peace'. It would be churlish of me to come between Michael and his God; and, in my daily Commons prayers to displace the Social Democrats, I shall now add a little extra one for Michael's eternal soul.

But the Affair of the Lewisham Candle was pretty gross, even by Michael's sub-Madison Avenue standards. Invited over a month earlier, he suddenly replied on the Thursday (just after the Synod had obediently voted multilateral) and alerted the media, turning a serious, Lewisham Vigil for Peace into a Heseltine Gimmick. But just a memo for your PR folk, Michael. Next time you venture forth, get them to tell you where you've been. By Sunday, on *Weekend World*, you thought you'd been to *Greenwich*, and though to a Home Counties, Henley-on-Thames member, all South London must look the same, the lapse has been noted locally as casting doubt on the sincerity of your whole escapade; and then by branding my local CND Christians as Communists, you actually lost your party votes. If you've decided against a public debate with CND, and you're keeping Saatchi and Saatchi, get them to think up some better lines for you. You're still hopelessly plastic and unconvincing.

○

Michael could have been put right about his South London geography by his fellow nuclear apologist, John Selwyn Gummer, who knew Lewisham fairly well until I eased him out nine years ago. Gummer has been seconded of late from his duties at the Employment Department to assist Mr Harry ('Jesus was a Conservative') Greenway in summoning a dangerously heretic Church of England back into its true role as the Tory Party at Prayer. The clerics remain awkwardly obstinate. I'm told that it was Gummer's blatantly political speech at the Synod that ensured the passing of the 'No First Strike' resolution. So, in spite of the assault of the Parliamentary Christian Right, Church and State remain at odds. Nuclear response to a conventional attack is the whole basis of NATO strategy.

○

Gummer is not the only ex-MP for Lewisham West in the news. Jimmy Dickens, my Labour predecessor who held the seat in the 1960s, has found his considerable management talents translated from the Tribune Group to the Water Council over the past decade. He's the brains behind the bosses in the present strike. His press releases keep telling me that the employers have 'more than doubled their original offer'. Which only goes to show how badly it's been handled. If only Tom King (and the Prime Minister) had kept out of Jimmy's hair, it would all have been solved by now. Eight per cent would easily have done the trick earlier, but now they'll have to have an Inquiry and pay a little bit more. It all goes to show how incomes policy pushes up inflation in the end.

○

From sewage to orifices. I know it's not a nice subject but the Police Bill has now hit the delicate issue of 'strip searching'. To what extent have the Police the right to take your clothes off and poke around on the off chance that you might have heroin or diamonds up your rectum or in your vagina? The government suggestion is that they should have this right, with a doctor to help them in the more intimate probing. But once again the doctors are demurring; they dislike the whole idea of becoming copper's narks and examining a patient without his or her consent. What is becoming increasingly clear is that the medical profession could do wonders for the civil liberties of the suspect, if they exerted a few ethical principles of their own; like refusing to help the police search their prisoners, unless a lawyer is also there to see fair play. Though it would put up the cost of Justice, it might secure a little bit more of it.

○

The tragedy of the Police Bill is that it is the offspring of a Royal Commission, set up after the Confait Case, to make miscarriages of justice *less* likely; but it got nobbled along the way by the police lobby. The fact remains that, for all the legislation we pass, it is brave journalists and patient lawyers who are the best insurance against the innocent being convicted. This week another young Lewisham man, Mervyn Russell, has achieved a modest victory in having his case referred back to the Appeal Court. He was convicted of murder five years ago on hopelessly flimsy evidence and the credit for getting his case re-opened goes to Tom Sergant, who's just retired as Secretary of *Justice*, and Peter Hill, whose BBC 2 series *Rough Justice* forced the Home Office to sit up and take notice. Correcting miscarriages of justice needs money; on this occasion the BBC backed a hunch with cash and Tom laboured for years on a pittance. *Justice* now needs real resources, if it is to carry on the fight.

○

The House of Commons' private Star Chamber is the Committee of Privileges. I'm not a member, but there's a piece of Erskine May small print which says any MP can go and listen to any Committee – even to this elderly and ultra-secret sanctum. So I thought I'd find out what excruciating punishments they were thinking up for Ken Livingstone and his pals, for threatening to cut off funds from Londoners who'd elected Tories. Alas, I found them discussing a very different subject, which I'm afraid I can't reveal without risking joining Ken in his pot of boiling oil. I was up in front of them myself five years ago for revealing that Colonel B. was actually Colonel H. A. Johnstone. (Remember the ABC trial.) Though I got acquitted on that occasion, I doubt if I'd receive such leniency a second time around.

ROGER WODDIS

War at any price

'It is the lesson every child learns at school – the bully sets upon the weak and not the strong.' – Mrs Thatcher.

The bully sets upon the weak
  And not upon the strong,
And this betokens, so to speak,
  The burden of my song.

The Synod struck a mighty blow
  (A marvellous debate!),
Though 'No First Strike' appeased the foe
  Good Christians love to hate.

There is a need to pull the switch
  To keep our country free,
There is a final door to which
  There is no dual key.

The bully sets upon the weak
  And plays with loaded dice;
The way to win the peace we seek
  Is war at any price.

Though Hitler sadly turned to crime
  To gain his ends, at least
He was a bulwark for a time
  Against the Godless East.

All you who in your innocence
  Believe the massive lie,
Let suicide be your defence
  And 'Bulwarks!' be your cry.

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From the CND Picture Show: Montage by Peter Kennard

Letter to Prague

The first exchange of letters between E. P. Thompson and the Czech 'dissident' with the pseudonym Václav Racek appeared in the New Statesman *of 24 April 1981, and is republished in Thompson's* Zero Option *(Merlin Press). In the* New Statesman *of 17/24 December 1982, Racek responded again to Thompson – who now sends his own reply.*

February 1983

Dear Václav Racek,

Thank you for your letter. I'm sorry that (through no fault of ours) this exchange is taking so long.

My lengthy response to your original letter was published nearly two years ago. In the interval your opinions have undergone little change, and you have now restated your original positions. We have failed to convince each other and so we are now in a deadlock. There is little point in rehearsing the arguments of my previous letter.

You argue your case with reference to a stereotype of the Western peace movement – a stereotype perhaps derived from the World Peace Council of the 1950s. You suppose that you know already – without consulting our writings or policies – what our movement is, and what its true objectives must be (once the rhetoric has been stripped away); you suppose it to be some kind of pro-Soviet operation, or, at least, a *bien pensant* movement which is in effect willing to capitulate before Soviet totalitarianism. You even suggest, as if it were your own original proposal, that 'the peace movement should call for disarmament by *both* superpowers'. This is, of course, what the majority movement in Britain, Holland, Scandinavia, Italy and West Germany has been doing since 1980, while the majority movement in the United States is calling for a 'freeze' in both blocs.

I did in my previous letter seek to clarify these questions. I explained the character and demands of the non-aligned peace movement, which, commencing with the specific project of nuclear disarmament, extend towards the dissolution of the bloc system itself, by means of throwing open direct exchanges between citizens East and West, and enlarging rights of communication and of transcontinental discourse. And I cited those passages of the European Nuclear Disarmament Appeal of April 1980 which voiced these demands.

Your eye passed over these passages in evident disbelief. This is not surprising. The media in the Communist bloc present to you a selective view of the Western peace movement, passing it first through a screen which takes out any elements unflattering to your own rulers' self-image. It publicises our intransigent resistance to NATO's nuclear 'modernisation', but supresses our parallel demands upon Soviet militarism, just as it censors any full discussion of the problem of bloc dissolution. You are given a one-sided presentation and you respond with a one-sided rejection. The blame for this lies, in the first place, with your censors – although, since you are ready to form confident judgments on the distant affairs of El Salvador and Nicaragua, I could wish that you would pursue your enquiry into our policies a little further.

I do not wish to join argument with you on the respective merits of 'human rights' and disarmament. It is difficult to understand how these ever came to be opposed to each other. And difficult to know how anything but human wrongs would survive a nuclear war.

I WILL ADMIT THAT I have intellectual reservations about the large and lumpy term 'human rights'. How and from what source do these rights descend? From some divine, primordial insemination? Is every infant, when she first bawls, the instant inheritor of every right imagined in history? It is nice to suppose so, as fond parents always do.

Yet, in my reading of history, rights never emerge full-blown; they are established, often through struggle, and secured by practice, custom, assertion, and made manifest in constitutions and laws. Rights pertain not to raw aboriginal 'man' but within civil societies or within the expectations of particular cultures. One may hope that the expectations are now universally rising, and may be gestured towards in United Nations Charters or Helsinki Agreements.

But I do not think that the whole world will get 'human rights' tomorrow because President Reagan and Mr Andropov meet at a Summit and say it must be so. And I think it is less than likely that you, in Prague, will find 'human rights' descending on your head because cruise missiles have been installed at Greenham Common and at Comiso. That is likely to engender a few more human wrongs, for us as well as for you.

This language is overblown. It distracts attention from reality; it promotes postures but not policies. We are all in favour of 'peace' and of 'human rights'. Let us pass a unanimous vote of confidence in both these noble values, and then turn to more serious

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analysis. Which policies might best promote peace? Which specific rights stand most in danger and require most urgent defence? Intellectual rights? Trade union rights? The rights of conscientious objectors?

The very terms 'peace', in the East, and 'human rights', in the West, are becoming greasy with self-interested political use. They are becoming the claptrap of Politbureau hacks and NATO windbags in the ritual exchanges of the cold war. You warn us of the first problem: that various peace-loving Communist operators would like to turn the Western peace movement into Andropov's captive auxiliaries. (We have noted this problem ourselves, and have taken our own precautions.) You are less aware of the second problem: that some rights-minded Western operators would like to turn 'human rights' dissidents in the East into President Reagan's groupies.

These operators (on both sides) care very little about either peace or human rights – unless on their own terms. Mr Andropov is ardent for Western disarmament, but he is not an ardent disarmer at home; President Reagan is a militant believer in trade unionism and workers' self-management in Poland, but not in the United States. This is a very rotten kind of rhetoric, because in the same moment that it raises up a great cry for the purposes of propaganda, it prepares to sell the cause down the river.

In this game of propaganda you are even more exposed – you are *greatly* more exposed – than we are. What 'dissidents' are expected to do in the East, for the benefit of President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher, is to suffer and be seen to be suffering. It makes very good copy for their speeches, especially against their own domestic peace movements. If you were to *gain* any one of the rights you are demanding, this would make very poor copy. If you were to win some freedoms this would detract from the unique glory of the Free World.

I do not say this out of cynicism but out of anger. We should no longer play their games: we should play our own. And we should learn, perhaps slowly and with difficulty, how to play this game as partners – the peace movement in the West and the movements for civil, intellectual and trade union rights in the East should 'recognise' each other.

We should be more serious, not less, about both peace and rights; and, hence, less rhetorical and more specific. Which precise demands for disarmament, not only nuclear but also conventional, should we be making upon both blocs? (Do you really have *no* ideas? You mention none.) Which rights of communication, exchange and transcontinental discourse could you claim, now, with some hope of success, which we in our turn could seek to defend and enlarge?

YOUR LETTER DISCOURAGED me. Did you intend its conclusion to be taken seriously? You would be willing (you say) to give your support to the Western peace movement provided that it gives its support to military force 'as an instrument of democracy confronting totalitarianism': that is, provided that it ceases to be a peace movement and becomes some kind of war movement instead. This is an absurdity. I am afraid that you must know little about nuclear weapons if you suppose that these can be 'instruments of human rights'. For more than 30 years the overplus of weaponry has contributed *nothing* to the advance of any rights in the East – nor, for that matter, to the advance of anything miscalled 'socialism' in the West – all that it has done is strengthen the military and security establishments of both sides. Yet you peer into the barbarism of our times . . and call for more barbarity.

There is one other misunderstanding in your letter. You attribute to me the view that 'peace by itself brings about liberty', and that liberty 'will come about as a consequence of disarmament'. That is not my view: I doubt any such direct sequence of cause and effect. On the contrary, I hold that neither 'peace' nor 'liberty' can be proposed as a precondition for the other. I would hesitate to generalise about historical universals. But in our own Europe, as we find it today, the struggle for both these goods must accompany and encourage each other. Each gain of civil rights in the East will strengthen the morale of the Western peace movement, which will, in turn, seek to protect and enlarge this space. The making of peace entails not only the refusal of nuclear weapons but also the opening of frontiers and the overcoming of ideological and security taboos.

I an heartened to know that not all of those who are working with courage in Czechoslavakia for civil and intellectual rights take up your own negative positions. Over the past year a series of remarkable messages have been addressed to sections of the European peace movement by the acknowledged spokespersons of Charter 77.

In March of last year Charter 77 addressed the new independent peace movement in the German Democratic Republic, expressing full support for its objectives: 'We think that ordinary citizens, in the whole world, in every single country, should fight – as individuals or in non-official groupings – for the human right to live in a just peace, to be free from militarism and weapons of mass destruction . . .' (*Listy*, October 1982). In August, Charter 77 addressed the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, raising the concrete question of reviewing the temporary stationing (from 1968) of Soviet military forces on Czech territory. Their withdrawal 'would constitute a sign of goodwill and contribute towards detente in Central Europe'. And in the same month, in a lengthy message to the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, Charter 77 explored in the most positive way the relation between movements for peace and human rights, looked forward to initiatives 'transcending frontiers by means of personal contact', promoting 'cultural and human exchanges' and looking forward to 'the renaissance of European citizenship' and 'the establishment of a civilian Europe'. (Both documents in *END Journal* January 1983.)

These courageous messages have been received with attention and with hope in the Western peace movement. In my experience, increasing numbers of peace activists understand and respond to Charter 77's demand that the Western movements should incorporate in their demands the observance of the human rights clauses of the Helsinki Final Act. A new perspective has already opened for common action.

I cannot understand how all these statements, from the leading proponents of civil and intellectual rights in Czechoslovaka, could have passed you by. Yet you mention none of them. You do not even raise, in any practical way, the question of conventional forces on your soil or recommend this to our attention. Just as your fellow citizens are raising the perspective of common action with us in mutual support, you send a letter to the *New Statesman* arguing that this persepective must be closed.

I no longer know who you are nor from what position you speak. I know, however, that one of the three Charter 77 spokespersons who signed these remarkable messages was Ladislav Lis. Readers of this journal will know that Lis was arrested on 5 January and is now in prison awaiting trial (*New Statesman*, 4 February '83). Among the papers seized by the security police were drafts, in his handwriting, of messages to the European peace movements.

I regard the arrest of Ladislav Lis as a direct blow to the cause of peace, a direct act of cold war against the Western peace movement as well as against the rights of Czechs. The day when he was arrested in Prague was the same day as the Prague summit of the leaders of the Warsaw bloc which issued a whole bundle of peace-loving proposals aimed at Western opinion. At the moment of Lis's arrest that whole bundle lost its credibility. If Charter 77's spokespersons may not speak, without loss of freedom, to the Western peace movement, than I must make plain my view that our movement should break off any relations with Czech officialdom – including the official 'Peace Committee' – and should certainly boycott their much-advertised 'Peace Assembly' in Prague next June. At the least, let us exact from them one small 'human right' as the price of any attendance: let them release Ladislav Lis, and give to him the right to speak from the podium.

But my attention has strayed from your letter. I hope that there may now be others who will join in this exchange, since we have, for the time being, exhausted our own dialogue.

Yours sincerely,

E. P. Thompson

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FOREIGN NEWS: ARGENTINA

Back to barracks

Nick Caistor reports on the junta's careful steps to hand back power to the politicians

ON 3 FEBRUARY the military junta in Argentina met for the first time this year after its summer holidays. If British Intelligence is in touch, it will probably be surprised at how low the Malvinas/Falkland issue is on the agenda. The fact is that the armed forces in Argentina have far more pressing matters to discuss.

They have promised to hand power back to an elected civilian government by March 1984, and will probably do so by the end of this year. But they want to return to barracks in orderly fashion; and they want to extract guarantees from whoever may be taking over that there will not be too close an investigation of all that has gone on in the six years of military rule. 'I hope the next president will be moderate in that respect', General Reynaldo Bignone declared at the end of last month, and finding ways of ensuring that moderation is likely to be the main item of much of the armed forces' deliberations over the coming months.

The question of the 'disappeared' – the thousands of people who simply vanished without any further record of their existence between 1976 and 1979 is at the heart of this wish by the armed forces to avoid investigation. Nobody is sure how many people were involved. The Geneva based inter-Church Human Rights League recently published a list of 7,291 fully documented cases, adding the grim reminder that the real figure of those who disappeared in this way is likely to be two or three times higher, because of the number of unreported or insufficiently substantiated cases. However, General Ramon Camps, who headed the Buenos Aires Province police forces during the height of the 'war against subversives' in the late 1970s, stated categorically in a recent interview with a Spanish newspaper that 'only' 1,000 had been killed and that there was no 'disappeared' problem because there were no subversives left alive in the country.

Not all of the armed forces think they can be quite so brazen about it. The most likely outcome would seem to be the publication of some sort of list of all those 'subversives' of whom the military have some record of killing. This would be combined with an Amnesty Law that would nominally pardon all those who committed crimes against the government from 1976 on, but which would in fact be used (as has been the case with a similar law in Chile) to prevent any prosecution of the security forces for their activities.

The Argentine armed forces also hope to do a deal with the politicians over their economic management of the country – which was as corrupt as it was inept. Two of their main stated reasons for overthrowing Maria Estela Peron's government in March 1976 were the country's disastrous economic situation and the amount of unchecked government corruption. In the seven years since then, they have outdone their predecessors on both counts. The 1982 inflation rate was back over 200 per cent; the external debt has shot up to $43 billion, a high proportion of it in short-term loans; unemployment is higher than ever before, and whole sectors of national industry, from car-making to fishing, have been virtually wiped out. Apart from this, questions are now being asked about the amounts of public money misappropriated during the past few years. One judge, who at the beginning of January wished to question former economics minister Jose Martinez de Hoz about the huge debt run up by the state oil company, YPF, during his term in office, was forced to leave the country in a hurry because of direct threats to himself and his family.

Obviously the armed forces will not allow nosy judges or politicians to pry into all that has gone on since 1976. They are calculating that the hope of power combined with the threat of another coup and a return to repression – a threat more useful held in reserve than actually carried out – will be enough to make the politicians 'see reason', and the judiciary as a whole has not exactly proved itself to be inclined to heroism over the past few years.

So far the politicians appear to have been playing the game, concentrating on promises of what they will do once elected, rather than castigating the record of the military government. Both the main parties, the Peronists and the Radicals, are trying to find a unifying force after the death of their traditional leaders. Juan D. Peron has been dead for almost a decade now, but his widow, 'Isabelita', proved incapable of dominating the different factions, and no heir-apparent has emerged. Indeed, one group of Peronists, calling themselves the 'ultra-verticalists' because they believe in an absolute chain of command from their leader down, insist that since Peron himself nominated his wife as his successor, she should be brought back from exile in Spain and given back the presidency of which she was stripped in 1976, without the bother of having new elections.

Others within the Peronist ranks are rather more realistic, but none can agree so far on who should be their presidential candidate. The trade unions, traditionally the mainstream of Peronist power, are themselves split into three factions, and none of these feels a direct obligation to any particular Peronist politician.

The other substantial party, the Radicals, are hoping that this disunity among the Peronists will give them an electoral advantage. However, their longstanding leader, Ricardo Balbin, died last year, and they too are having problems in presenting a unified front. The leader of one of their groups, Raul Alfonsin, has already tried to steal a march on the others by declaring himself a candidate for the presidency, but this is going to be a long year for all politicians in Argentina.

These are the questions which will be occupying the minds of the junta. The most powerful weapon of control they have at the moment is rumour; so long as everybody is afraid of another military coup, the theory goes, nobody will push the current government too hard, and it will be able to withdraw without too much of a loss of face. Many Argentines cannot yet believe that the armed forces will just go away quietly like that; nor do they put much trust in the politicians, because those who have survived this far have done so because they have always compromised, looked after their own interests first and foremost. For the moment though, the Argentines are enjoying the opportunity – however brief it may prove to be – to talk politics openly after seven years' enforced silence: as an Argentine friend commented – 'It's like coming round after an anaesthetic, and being able to feel things again'. □

Malvinas give way to politics in downtown BA.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Live and let die

John Kane-Berman reports on the destruction of a Transvaal community

Driefontein

IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND they used to paint white crosses on houses struck by the plague. In modern South Africa, black people know that a white number painted on their house can also be a sentence of death. In Driefontein, a farming village about 200 miles from Johannesburg (near Piet Retief in the south-eastern Transvaal), numbers also suddenly appeared, in November, on the gravestones.

At first, the Driefontein people joked about the numbers on the houses. The officials, they say, told them that numbering would help the Post Office deliver their letters. They laugh when they tell you this because they know that the officials know that *they* know what the real purpose is.

The numbers on the gravestones, however, caused outrage. 'When we bury our dead,' says Saul Mkhize, leader of the 5,000 villagers, 'we expect them, as all people do, to rest in peace.' The people of Driefontein know that the numbers mean that they and their dead must go. The social engineers in Pretoria have designated their community a 'black spot' – and apartheid decrees that all 'black spots' must be eliminated from the face of 'white' South Africa.

Unless the Driefontein people can hold out against removal, they will join half a million blacks already swept off their farms and deposited by government truck in the 'homelands', along with at least three times that number of black people otherwise displaced from the 86 per cent of South Africa appropriated for white ownership.

White South Africa propagates the myth that blacks make useless farmers. Driefontein suggests otherwise. Some of the villagers own tractors. They rear cattle, goats and chickens. They grow maize, potatoes, pumpkins, even peach trees. Drought has hurt their crops this year, but they say that when the rains are good they grow enough to feed themselves and leave a surplus to sell – the nearby white town of Wakkerstroom being among their markets. On a continent steadily losing the race to feed its people, that is no small achievement.

Driefontein, in fact, has an interesting history. In 1912, the farm was bought from a white by P.I.K. Seme, a Johannesburg solicitor acting for a company called the Native Farmers' Association of Africa. The idea was to subdivide it into plots for sale to individual blacks. Seme is better known as one of the founders of the African National Congress and a later President-General.

Seme's association appears to have been one of a number of black organisations buying land from whites around the turn of the century, and profitably selling produce in the towns. But, in 1913, the Union Government introduced the infamous Natives Land Act, which forbade further land transactions between blacks and whites and started carving up the country into what are now known as the 'white' areas and the 'homelands'.

Driefontein may not be the richest community in South Africa, but, as the chairman of the Community Board wrote to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development in Pretoria: 'Driefontein is a settled and peaceful community. We have our own school, bus service, small stores, churches and water supply. Driefontein is our home. We will not move unless we are compelled to do so.' The letter reminded Koornhof that he was once understood to have promised that the government would not force anyone to be resettled.

Koornhof's reply to the villagers wasted no words: 'The position regarding the future of Driefontein is as follows: (a) the dam in the Assegaai River will, on completion, flood some of the Driefontein properties: and (b) it is a decision of Parliament that the people of Driefontein must be settled elsewhere. Therefore only the terms under which the move will take place are negotiable.'

A dam is indeed being built in the district, but it is not clear to what extent it will flood Driefontein (the white farmer next door says it won't affect him). In any event, the Driefontein people suspect that the dam is a 'changing technique of forcing people out' in view of their resistance.

Saul Mkhize, who is leading the resistance and makes sure his lawyers are present whenever he talks to the government, claims that 'we have had officials descend upon us telling the older people they must move, that they must hand over their title deeds so that they may obtain new deeds in another area, 240 km [away]. [With] the presence of the police in battle dress, these poor people have done what they were told.'

If the government has its way, the community will be split up – Zulus to Babanango adjoining the Kwazulu 'homeland' and Swazis to Lothair near the Kangwane 'homeland'. The government has promised that it will provide 'rations free of charge for three days' during the removal, while tents or prefabricated houses will be provided temporarily in the new areas, free of charge.

Mr Victor Mqele, who remembers his father buying his plot from Seme's association, says: 'If the government says I must move they can just come and shoot me.' Mqele, whose sight is failing, adds: 'I'm now so old that I can't do anything. Who is going to build me a house there?'

ELDERLY BLACK PEOPLE have long since been earmarked as a particular target for removal from the 'white' areas, responsibility for paying their pensions being thus transferred from the Pretoria government to the 'homeland' authorities – along with other such responsibilities as education, housing, health and welfare services. Kangwane, which is already so packed with displaced people that cholera broke out, in 1980, in some of its dumping grounds (because Pretoria failed to lay on proper water and sewerage facilities) had a budget in the 1981/82 financial year of R36,746,000. No more than 16 per cent of its residents, according to Pretoria's own statistics, are economically active (against 44 per cent of blacks in the 'white' areas).

Ingrid Hudson

First they numbered the houses, then the graves

Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in Kwazulu – the other area for which Driefontein people are destined – believes that his government has no choice but to help people dumped on its doorstep. The tin huts and tents temporarily loaned by Pretoria offer little protection, Dhlomo says, so that young children and old people often die of respiratory infections. 'Severe malnutrition among children often follows the resettlement experience as people have been forced to dispose of their livestock, which at least ensured a sporadic supply of fresh milk in their children's diet,' he adds.

Referring to research that Kwazulu conducted among people in dumping grounds, Dhlomo said: 'The forced resettlement of large numbers of disorientated, displaced and dispossessed people on our borders threatens the stability of the rural areas. People in neighbouring Kwazulu areas are bitter and resentful towards those moving in, as inevitably they will compete for jobs, for land, for places in school, for water and, in fact, all the meagre resources the rural communities have at their disposal.'

When the Oxford-educated Koornhof became satrap of the vast apartheid apparatus known strangely as the 'department of co-operation and development', he declared that his philosophy would be one of 'live and let live'. Obviously, he did not have the Driefontein people in mind. □

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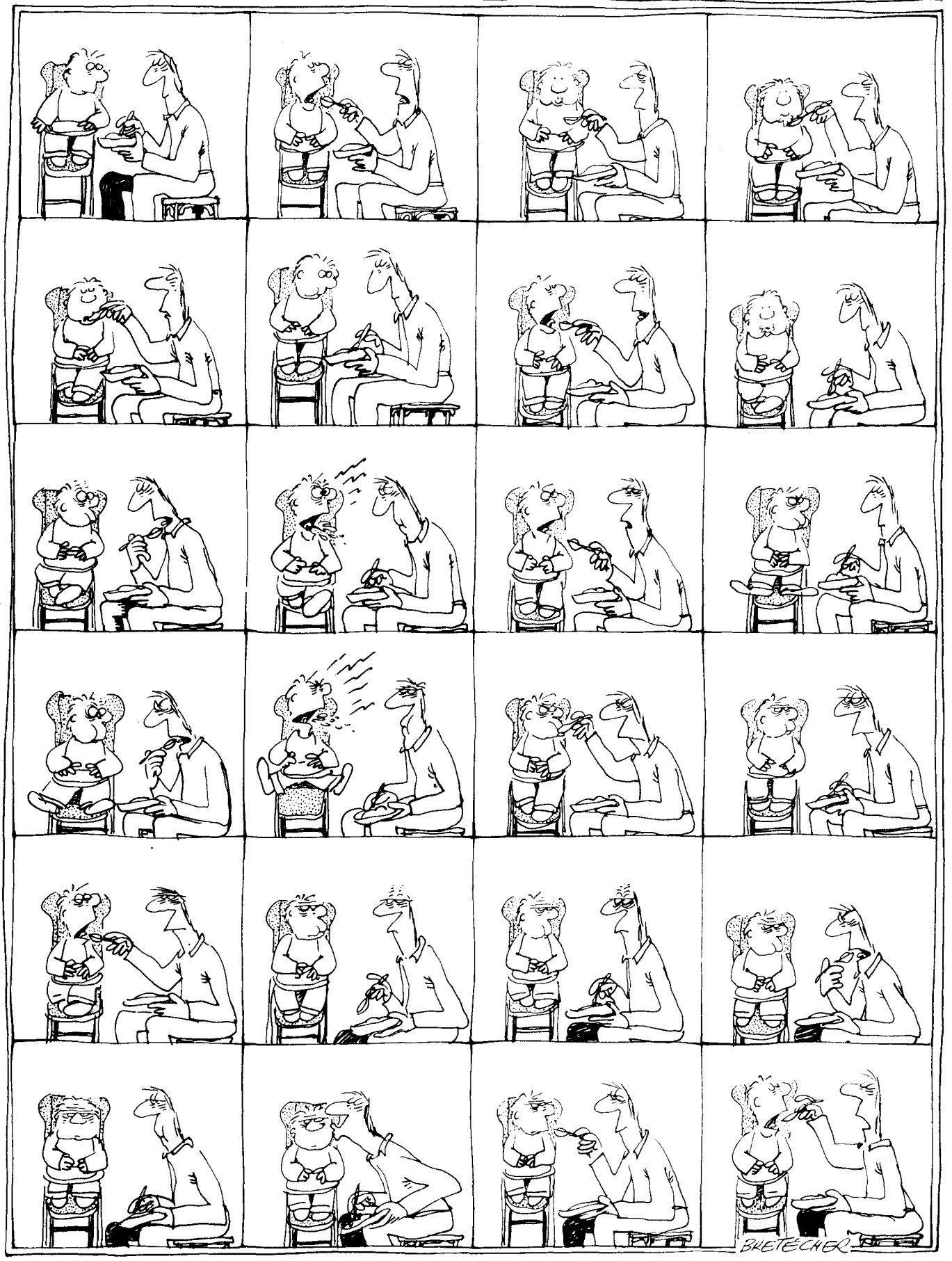
BRETECHER

A SPOONFUL FOR DADDY



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THE ARMS RACE

'Balance' of terror

In this special supplement the New Statesman *sets out the basic history and present state of the nuclear arms race, the attempts to halt it and the continuous efforts of the negotiators to win the support of public opinion. Reports and compilation by Duncan Campbell*

THE POLITICAL THEMES of the arms race come in cycles. But each time, the stakes grow higher and the arsenals and their destructive power mount. The present, almost daily barrage of proposals for disarmament and negotiation thus follows hundreds of nuclear disarmament proposals made on all sides since 1945, and more than 50 treaties signed in the same period. If one examines them fatal flaws in public theory and perception of arms control stand out.

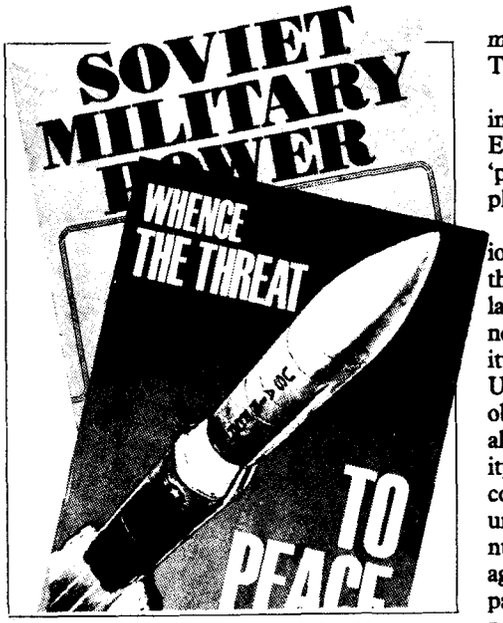
The search for 'balance' between the super-powers, far from being the guarantor of mutual security, has negated it. No country in the 1940s faced the prospect of its imminent destruction as a viable 20th century society. Until the late 1960s, neither the United States nor most western European countries faced such prospect. Now it is a threat to all.

In principle the concept of balance seems justified. In practice, it allows the 'hawks' on each side to identify any new niche, any gap, any difference in quantity or effectiveness of military forces as a justification for a new weapon.

Most of the famous gaps – such as the celebrated missile gap of the early 1960s (when the Soviet Union was alleged to have deployed hundreds of ICBMs before the United States) – have often turned out to be wholly ill-founded.

Nuclear weapons are not the only method available for 'deterrence.' Nor is balance an essential part of nuclear deterrence. The non-aligned nations of Europe, like Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, have policies of territorial defence, or defensive deterrence. Nuclear deterrence is based on threatening massive counter-aggression on the cities and territory of an opponent. There is another path – the deterrent effect of threatening unacceptable casualties against an invader.

Numerical equivalence of forces is not the issue. If a British 'independent' deterrent has any value at all, then it must operate in a situation of massive odds against the UK. Britain with its own deterrent has 64 missiles, against more than 1,600 Soviet missiles. But if one or two missiles alone can inflict unacceptable damage – the destruction of Moscow and other cities being clearly unacceptable to the Soviet Union – then the minimal requirement for deterrence is



Rival US and Soviet propaganda booklets

available, although Britain, too, is massively deterred in turn.

So why should Europe need more missiles on top of the 1,000 aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons and 6,000 tactical warheads in NATO's hands alone?

The military argument is that nuclear deterrence needs to operate at many levels. There then arises a specific problem, as old as NATO itself. Would the United States risk its homeland in the defence of Europe, by employing its own strategic forces when the US itself is not directly threatened? The problem has been heightened, but was not created by two successive generations of Soviet medium range missiles, whose targets were, unequivocably, European military bases and cities.

In the 1960s, it was proposed that NATO should have its own multinational nuclear force. The MLF (Multilateral Force) would have consisted of an international NATO navy of missile-carrying ships. The proposal proved politically too complex. Instead NATO chose to counter the Soviet missile force by taking control of 400 warheads on US Poseidon missile submarines.

These warheads are still available to NATO. But they are omitted from all the tables of 'balance' on which contemporary rhetoric about the need for cruise and Pershing missiles is based. They are, and always have been, NATO's counter to the Soviet missiles. Modernised, multiple warhead SS20s are replacements for, not additions to, the SS4 and SS5 missiles, 600 of which have threatened Europe since the 1960s.

NATO chose submarine missiles in the '60s because they were virtually invulnerable, in contrast to land-based missiles. Why should they want to put new missiles on land now, when modern, accurate technology makes such forces even more vulnerable? The reasons are entirely political.

In NATO's view new land missile systems involve US strategic forces directly in Europe. Invulnerable submarines lacked 'political visibility' to NATO's nuclear planners. It was an unfortunate phrase.

NATO's nuclear planners were more anxious to acquire the new missiles because of the row in 1978 which resulted in the cancellation of US plans to produce and deploy the neutron bomb in Europe. 'Political visibility' was partly required in order to make the US strategic nuclear presence in Europe as obvious to the USSR as possible. But it was also intended as a gesture of NATO solidarity; with cruise and Pershing, NATO countries would show that they were a united front in any cold or hot war. The nuclear planners would avenge themselves against the anti-nuclear weapons campaigners who had successfully defeated the neutron bomb project.

That reasoning has proved to be politically inept. 'Political visibility' has been the greatest hurdle of all. In trying to prove unity, the nuclear planners have divided NATO more than ever. □

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CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

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Four decades of the bomb

Since 1946, there have been numerous proposals for the prohibition or reduction of nuclear weapons stocks. But the arsenals on both sides have inexorably grown. These are the principal events of the last 38 years.

August 1945: The attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the first, and so far, only use of nuclear weapons in war.

1946 Baruch Plan: The control and limitation of atomic weapons was one of the first priorities of the UN General Assembly after it was set up. The Baruch plan, a US proposal, was that an international commission should be set up to take control of all aspects of atomic power, following which the US would stop producing atom bombs and hand them over for destruction.

The Soviet Union wanted to see the same actions, but in the reverse order; the bombs had to be destroyed first. The proposal foundered on this deadlock.

September 1949: First Soviet atomic bomb test.

November 1952: First test of the American 'super' – the hydrogen bomb. First British A-bomb test at Monte Bello the same year.

August 1953: First Soviet H-bomb test.

July 1955: The Geneva Summit was the closest the postwar world ever came to nuclear (or conventional) disarmament. The Soviet Union accepted proposals by France, Canada, the UK and the USA for major troop reductions, and a subsequent prohibition on nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union was unwilling to accept a US proposal for 'open skies' – unchallenged rights of aerial reconnaissance to verify disarmament. The US then withdrew most of its disarmament proposals. Since 1955, there have been no general and comprehensive disarmament proposals seriously discussed between the major powers.

May 1957: First British H-Bomb test.

October 1960: First French A-Bomb test.

August 1963: Partial Test Ban Treaty agreed. Prohibited atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons.

October 1964: First Chinese A-Bomb test.

June 1967: First Chinese H-Bomb test.

July 1968: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty signed (entered into force March 1970).

September 1968: First French H-Bomb test.

November 1969: SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation) talks begin in Geneva.

May 1972: ABM Treaty signed. Limited the deployment of Anti-Ballistic Missiles by the US and the USSR to 100 each. The first result of the SALT treaty talks.

May 1972: SALT 'Interim agreement.' The treaty provided for a five-year freeze on the total numbers of strategic missiles on each side. SALT I restrained missile totals, but did not prevent proliferation by means of MIRVing (see pV) of missile warheads. After the five years, neither side had reached the SALT I 'ceilings', or limits on missiles deployed. But the number of *warheads* on each side had virtually doubled – from 3,858 US and 1,996 Soviet in 1972 to 7,130 US and 3,894 Soviet by 1977.

July 1974: ABM protocol – further limited ABMs to use at one site only. In the event, the one US ABM site was scrapped since it seemed unlikely to function reliably. The Soviet Union has one obsolescent system, of 32 *Golash* missiles to protect Moscow.

May 1974: India tested its first A-Bomb, and became the sixth country with a proven nuclear arsenal.

June 1979: Carter and Brezhnev signed the SALT II Treaty. It provided limits on the total number of warheads, counting in bombers as well as missiles. Under SALT II, each side could have 2,400 'platforms' – submarine-launched or land-based missiles, or heavy bombers. There were also limits on the testing and deployment of new missile systems; on the number of MIRV warheads on each type of missile; and on the number of cruise missiles which a bomber could carry.

Cruise missiles based on land or on ships escaped the SALT totals – one reason for the rapid development of interest in cruise technology in the US in the late 1970s.

A Protocol to the SALT II treaty banned the testing of new ICBMs, with one exception allowed in each side. Deployment of mobile ICBM launchers (like MX) was banned until 31 December 1981, together with the deployment of any land or sea-based cruise missiles. During the SALT I and SALT II talks, both Britain and France did not take part.

June 1982: START (Strategic Arms Reduction) talks began in Geneva. President Reagan initially proposed a one-third reduction in missile totals only, which would have left the US's substantially larger bomber force untouched. Subsequently, Reagan agreed to include the bombers.

Brezhnev's counter-offer was to start with an immediate freeze, which the US rejected despite the domestic public popularity of the proposal. The freeze would 'leave the US at a nuclear disadvantage', according to Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

On the basis of previous treaty negotiations it is unlikely that any START proposals for a new treaty will come for several years. □

Music for Peace

GLC Peace Year 1983

RANGER'S HOUSE, BLACKHEATH
SUNDAY 20 FEBRUARY 1983 AT 11.30 AM

JANET HILTON *CLARINET*
KEITH SWALLOW *PIANO*

ADMISSION FREE – PROMENADE
FURTHER RECITAL ON 27 FEBRUARY

Working for London and Peace

129

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The road to Greenham

Steps to NATO's plans for cruise missiles and today's proposals for arms control in Europe.

October 1977: NATO's Nuclear Planning Group, responsible for nuclear policy, established a High Level Group (HLG) of officials to plan for a new generation of missiles. 'High Level' co-ordination was thought necessary because of the embarrassment at the row within NATO over the American proposal for a neutron bomb.

Later that month Chancellor Schmidt in a lecture at the International Institute of Strategic Studies publicised the idea of involving American nuclear forces more closely in Europe.

(The deployment of Soviet SS20s was *not* as commonly claimed, the reason for proposing new NATO missiles. SS20s were only a replacement for missiles, including 600 SS4s and SS5s and 180 ICBMs already targetted on Western Europe for a decade.)

According to Schmidt, SALT I might effectively stalemate the two superpowers; preventing the credible threat of using strategic nuclear weapons to deter an attack in Europe. A limited, tactical nuclear war in Europe might therefore become more likely because of SALT.

April 1979: Another NATO committee – the Special Group – was set up to find ways of making the new nuclear weapons policy more attractive, particularly to western European public opinion, by proposing arms control at the same time.

June 1979: Soviet Union announced unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from the Group of Soviet Forces in (East) Germany.

6 October 1979: Brezhnev, reflecting Soviet concern about the new NATO proposals, warned in an East Berlin conference that deployment of new nuclear weapons would sabotage the chances of negotiated disarmament. But he offered an immediate moratorium on all new missile deployments. (This was a serious embarrassment to NATO, which had in effect already decided on its new missiles, although the formal decision was still two months away.)

12 December 1979: Special meeting of NATO Foreign and Defence ministers in Brussels agreed on proposals to 'modernise theatre nuclear forces'. 464 cruise missiles and 108 new ballistic missiles, Pershing II, were to be installed in five NATO countries by 1986. (These missiles *should* threaten the Soviet Union directly and *must* be solely American controlled. Otherwise, they would not appear to the Soviet Union as part of the US strategic forces; and the 'coupling' effect sought by NATO would not be achieved.)

14 December 1979: NATO Council of Ministers approved the decision, which was then announced. Also announced was the planned removal of 1,000 US nuclear weapons from Europe. (The weapons concerned – obsolete warheads for missile systems already mostly withdrawn, such as Honest John – had been retained in Europe as a bargaining counter in negotiations.)

17 June 1980: British government announced approval for new cruise bases at Greenham Common and Molesworth.

May 1981: Soviet Union announced its version of the figures for the 'medium range' nuclear balance in Europe: Soviet Union – 975 systems; NATO – 987.

17 September 1981: During a visit to Moscow by Michael Foot and Denis Healey, Brezhnev offered for the first time to reduce the Soviet SS20 missile totals.

21 October 1981: Reagan made his celebrated gaffe concerning the likelihood of a nuclear war limited to Europe at a press conference: 'I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical (nuclear) weapons against troops in the field (ie, central Europe) without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button.'

18 November 1981: Reagan responded to a series of Soviet proposals for missile reductions with the 'zero option'. (This 'option' in fact overlooks significant categories of nuclear weapons on *both* sides, in particular bombers of all kinds and submarine launched missiles. It also disregards British and French 'Eurostrategic' weapons.)

30 November 1981: Talks on INF (Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Europe) began in Geneva – with the US offering its zero option, the Soviet Union a freeze on SS20s and unilateral reductions of missiles based in European Russia.

February 1982: Soviet Union announced a unilateral freeze on SS20 deployment in the European USSR. Around 230 SS20s had by then been installed. (The freeze was dependent on a NATO response and deployment appears to have resumed a few months later.)

4 May 1982: NATO published its study of East-West 'force comparisons'. It claimed substantial inferiority for NATO as against the Warsaw Pact in most significant areas of forces and weaponry, both conventional and nuclear.

9 May 1982: Reagan proposed a one-third reduction in *strategic* nuclear missiles for discussion at the Geneva START talks. (The timing of the speech suggested that it was intended to distract attention from the imminent announcement of his proposal to order 100 new MX strategic missiles.)

30 November 1982: US asked West Germany if it was willing to accept more Pershing II missiles. (These, more than cruise missiles, have caused Soviet alarm, because of the short warning time – six minutes or less – after a German-based Pershing II is launched against the Soviet Union.)

Contd on p. VI

'In nuclear war, victory as objective and defeat as penalty no longer have any meaning. There can be no victor'

DEFENDED TO DEATH

A study of the nuclear arms race from the Cambridge University Disarmament Seminar
EDITED BY GWYN PRINS

Two out of three people in Britain and the United States now expect a nuclear war in their lifetime. Written by a group of Cambridge dons, **Defended to Death** challenges the deadlock of the Cold War mentality and puts forward one of the most practical and persuasive arguments yet in favour of nuclear disarmament in Britain.

A Pelican Book 388 pages £3.50

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NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in April 1949. NATO's political headquarters is in Brussels. The military headquarters is the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Euorpe, at Mons, Belgium. SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander, Europe), is always an American General.

FRG – joined NATO, 1955
72 Medium range missiles
26 Short range missiles
204 Medium range aircraft
660 Nuclear capable artillery

Netherlands
6 Short range missiles
62 Medium range aircraft
340 Nuclear capable artillery

Belgium
5 Short range missiles
80 Medium range aircraft
50 Nuclear capable artillery

Luxembourg
No nuclear forces

Norway
No nuclear weapons, foreign bases or troops permitted on Norwegian soil in peacetime (except at NATO HQs, and on exercise).

Denmark
Same as Norway. However, US bases and nuclear facilities are permitted on Greenland, which is Danish.

Canada
Informed the United Nations in 1978 that it proposed unilateral nuclear disarmament. The process is nearly complete. Canadian forces ground and air forces have withdrawn from any nuclear role in Europe. Only a few nuclear air defence missiles, *Genies*, remain in the Canadian inventory.

Greece – joined NATO, 1952
36 Short range missiles
136 Medium range aircraft
80 Nuclear capable artillery

Portugal
No nuclear attack forces.

Turkey – joined NATO, 1952
54 Short range missiles
84 Medium range aircraft
48 Nuclear capable artillery

Italy
10 Short range missiles
72 Medium range aircraft
36+ Nuclear capable artillery

Spain – joined NATO, 1982
Under a 1976 bilateral treaty with the US, the submarine base at Rota (near Gibraltar) was closed, and all nuclear weapons should then have been removed. However the US navy still uses Rota.

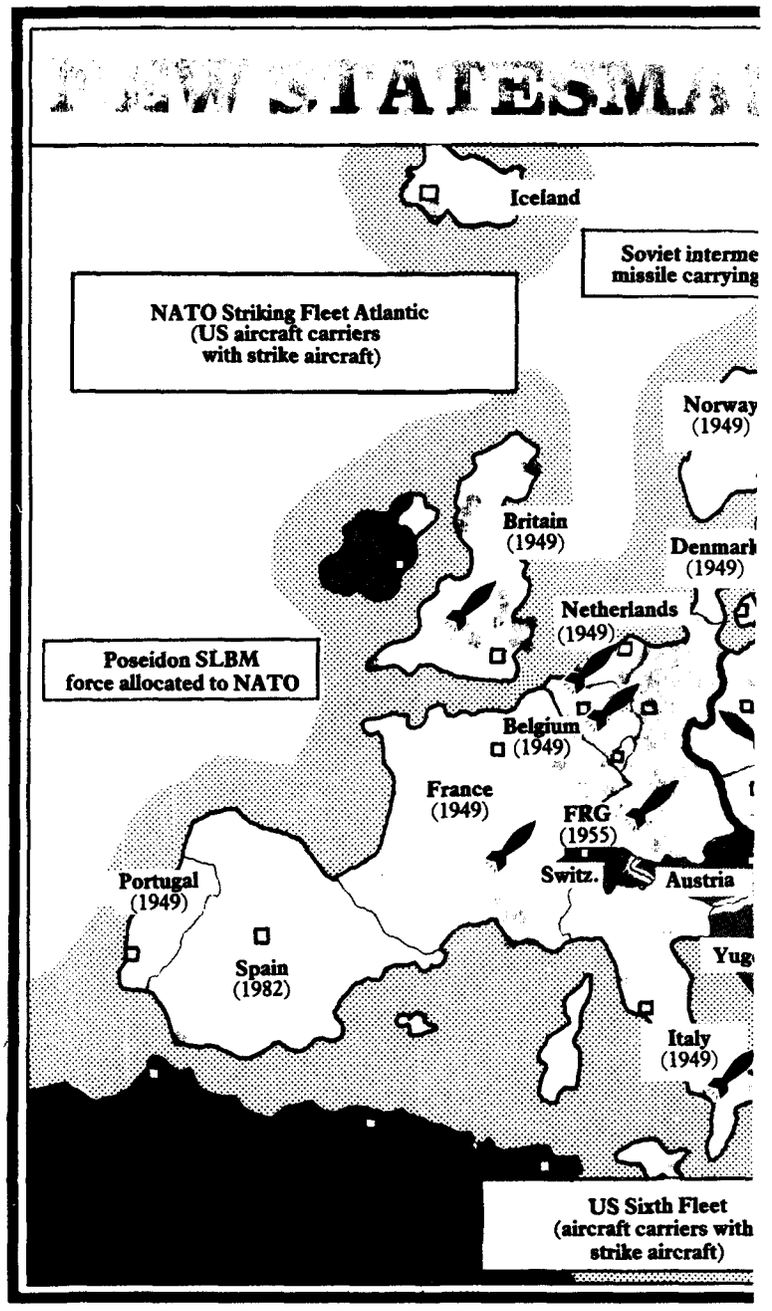
Iceland
No indigenous nuclear delivery systems, but grants the US the use of a major air base and communications centre at Keflavik.

United Kingdom
64 SLBM (Polaris/Chevaline)
104 Long range aircraft
12 Short range missiles
117 Nuclear capable artillery
84 Medium range aircraft

France
France left the NATO military structure in 1966. All foreign bases, US or NATO, were dismantled and removed by mid 1967.

However, France remains a member of NATO. Treaty obligations, requiring mutual military aid in the event of attack on an ally, have not been rescinded.
18 Medium range missiles
34 Long range aircraft
42 Short range missiles
290 Medium range aircraft

United States
Strategic Forces
520 SLBM
1052 ICBM
436 Strategic bombers
European theatre
108 Medium range missiles
36 Short range missiles
2000 Nuclear capable artillery
170 Long range aircraft
325 Medium range aircraft
204 Short and medium range aircraft, *carrier-based*.



ABM: Anti-Ballistic Missile, intended to destroy incoming ICBMs. Only one such system is in existence, with 32 'Galosh' missiles around Moscow. The missiles are obsolescent, and their numbers have been reduced. The US and the USSR have signed an ABM treaty, restricting the numbers of ABMs which may be deployed.

ALCM: Air Launched Cruise Missile – now said to be in operation, fitted to US-based B52 bombers. Each bomber can carry 12 ALCMs.

Backfire: Longest ranged modern Soviet bomber. Although considerable US propaganda has attempted to suggest that the Backfire could reach the United States, the claim is only plausible if the mission is one way, and in effect suicidal. The Soviets' main use of the aircraft appears to be maritime.

The title, like those of other Soviet bombers (such as Badger, Bear or Bison) is the NATO recognition codename, which is in more common usage than Soviet design numbers (eg Mig21).

Ballistic Missile: So-called because it is only powered (by a rocket motor) until near to the top of its flight path, then falls under gravity like any object thrown into the air.

Chevaline: Codename for the final product of Britain's Polaris Improvement Programme, which was conducted in total secrecy from 1968 until 1979. The new Chevaline warheads, three on each missile, are not greater in number or firepower than the previous Polaris warheads they replaced. They are however MIRVed – each can strike a separate target – and the new warhead includes both the necessary manouevrability and so-called 'penetration aids', such as dummy warheads to confuse Soviet missile defences. The modernisation programme, which only concerned the warheads, was intended to deal with a problem that doesn't really exist – the possibility, envisaged in the early 1970s, that a system of new anti-ballistic missile missiles, would be placed around Moscow. British military planners have always regarded destroying Moscow as central to their plans for deterrence.

Cruise Missile: So called because unlike a ballistic missile, it travels parallel to the ground like an aircraft, and at similar speeds, although very low. Cruise missiles have been in Europe before. Several squadrons of US Mace missiles were based in bunkers in Germany until 1969.

Eurostrategic Weapons: Nuclear weapons located in or likely to be used in Europe, which are capable of hitting targets some distance inside the opponent's territory. The term is intended to define a middle category of weapons between 'tactical' and 'strategic', but the problems of deciding categories are formidable. For example, the Soviet Union has long argued that US 'forward based systems' in Europe, which can attack the Soviet Union directly, are indeed strategic.

GLCM: Ground Launched Cruise Missile – the kind that are planned to come to Greenham Common and Molesworth. Some 464 are planned to be installed in Europe, 160 of them in Britain (the first 96 going to Greenham).

ICBM: Intercontinental Ballistic Missile

IRBM: Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile

INF: Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (new name and definition for LRTNF (qv)). The talks in Geneva on reducing *European* area missiles are the INF, as opposed to START (qv) talks.

LRTNF: Long Range Theatre Nuclear Forces. A definition NATO put together in order to present a suitable view of the

Nuclear

imbalance of forces in E
quently used; it covered
unambiguously carry nucl
Western Europe, and *vice*

MBFR: Mutual and Bala
have been underway in Vi
a decade has passed, with
of talks on multilateral dis

MIRV: Manoeuvrable,
Vehicles. In other words,
for different targets. The
Polaris. Most modern mis

MX: New United States
which President Reagan w
the US ICBM force. Bu
sizeable opposition. Few
missiles, whose shelters
nuclear strike in their neig

The new MX missiles –
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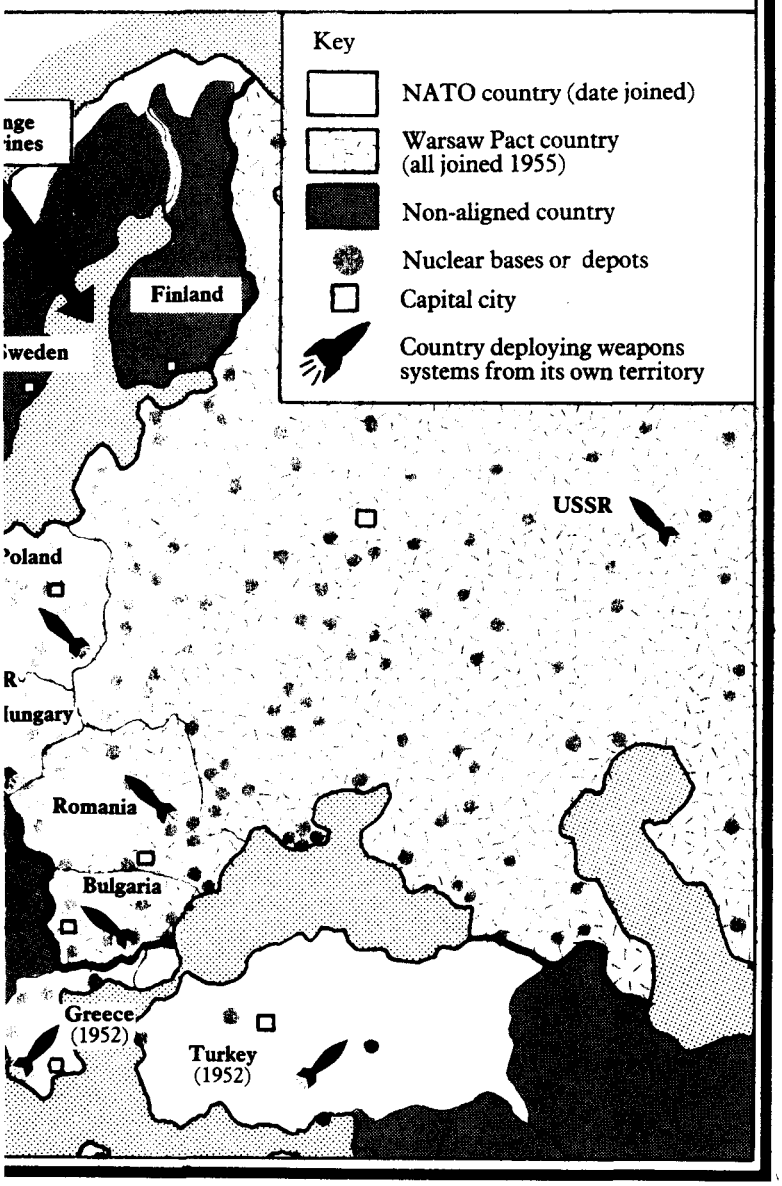
NUCLEAR EUROPE



Warsaw Pact

The Warsaw Pact's full title is the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Co-operation; signed in Warsaw in May 1955. Eight states originally joined; one, Albania, left the Pact in 1968, while diminished Soviet influence in Romania resulted in the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the placing of Romanian military forces under national command in 1958.

Joint High Command, headed by Soviet First Deputy Minister of Defence, is in Moscow. Soviet conventional forces are deployed in all Pact countries except Romania. Custody of all nuclear warheads – although not the delivery systems – remains with the Soviet Union. All nuclear warheads are probably retained on Soviet territory.

Poland
87 Short range missiles
East Germany
42 Short Range missiles
12 Medium range aircraft
Czechoslovakia
67 Short range missiles
54 Short and medium range aircraft
Hungary
36 Short range missiles
Bulgaria
66 Short range missiles
20 Medium range aircraft
Romania
50 Short range missiles
Soviet Union

The Soviet Union, unlike NATO, faces a threat on two fronts; Europe and Asia (including US forces which are forward based in the Pacific, Okinawa and Japan). The longer-ranged Soviet bombers and missiles are divided between those facing Asia, and those facing Europe. Some of the centrally placed 'fields' of SS20 missiles are able to reach either continent. It is usually assumed that 2/3 of such Soviet forces face Europe.

Europe & Asia
1085 Long range aircraft
1350 Medium range aircraft
1440 Short range missiles
600 Long range missiles
30 Submarine based missiles
Nuclear capable artillery – very few units believed to be deployed.
Strategic forces
989 SLBM
1398 ICBM (but 180 of these may be targetted on Europe)
150 Strategic bombers
Not included: Nuclear armed shipborne missiles.
Locations
Main SS20 fields are Yedrovo, Yurya, Verkhnyaya Salda and beside the Caspian Sea. ICBMs (SS11 and SS19) which might attack Europe are located in the far western USSR at Pervomaysk and Derazhnya.
New production

SS20 missiles are being produced at a rate alleged by NATO to be 50 per year. Similarly, more modern ICBMs, are replacing existing missiles on a one-for-one basis. Many of these are MIRVed. The SALT II agreement, whose limits both sides are respecting although it has not been ratified, would allow the Soviet strategic warhead inventory to rise by several thousand during the 1980s (present level is about 6,500). The most substantial new Soviet development of the last few years has been the launching of a massive new type of submarine, armed with 20 SLBMs. *Typhoon* is claimed to be larger even than the latest US ballistic missile submarine, *Trident*.
Map

The map shows the location of missile bases, submarine bases, and the approximate location of Warsaw Pact military airfields. Many missile carrying submarines and ships (not shown) may be deployed within European area waters, but their task is not to attack Europe itself.

ctionary

he definition is now infre- and missiles which could ons from Soviet territory to

ce Reduction talks, which e 30 October 1973 – almost nothing to show for this set t.
dently-targettable Re-entry with several warheads, each *evaline* warheads do this for MIRVed.
with at least 10 warheads, rder to expand the power of X plans have encountered f the US wish to have the gned to 'soak up' a Soviet od.
be bought under the present ed by the US because their ulnerable to a Soviet first noted, completely overlooks *most* of the US missile force, is any proposal by Reagan to ndent on finding a plausible building 4,600 shelters to ng carriers, and to what one Pentagon official categorised unhappily as Deep Underground Mountain Basing (DUMB).

NPT: Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, signed in July 1968, and in force since 1970, binds nuclear weapon signatories not to transfer control of nuclear weapons. Non weapon powers agree to internationally enforced safeguards to prevent the diversion of civil nuclear power equipment or materials to military ends.

Platform: Anything that carries a nuclear weapon – aircraft or missile.

Polaris: British submarines which carry the UK nuclear deterrent. There are four submarines with 64 missiles between them. The old Polaris warheads, but not the missiles, are currently being converted to Chevaline. Although the number of British warheads (three per missile) remains unchanged, they can now strike at 192 separate targets, having been MIRVed.

Pershing: At present, 180 Pershing 1 missiles are in service in West Germany (108 American, 72 German). It is customary for NATO to claim there are no 'comparable' missiles to the SS20s in NATO countries. But Pershing 1, with a range of about 500 miles can reach many Warsaw Pact cities, although not the USSR. SS20s can reach all of Western Europe, but not the United States. The question of comparability is thus somewhat semantic.

Poseidon: US SLBM, fitted in both specially built and older Polaris submarines. Poseidon is MIRVed with, on average, 10 warheads per missile.

SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; US-USSR treaties to control strategic nuclear weapons. (For dates, see pps II-III).

SLBM: Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile – like Polaris, Poseidon or Trident.

SS Series Missiles (eg SS4, SS20): Soviet surface to surface missiles are always designated by NATO in this way. Missiles launched at sea are similarly known as SSN14, SSN15, etc. The Soviet government has never published its internal designation for the missiles.

START: Strategic Arms Reduction Talks are now under way in Geneva along with, but separately from, the INF talks. The title was Reagan's replacement for the SALT acronym (qv). It emphasised his intention that the talks would aim to have the Soviet Union reduce its strength of land-based missiles.

Strategic weapons: Weapons which can be used to attack the home territory of the US or the USSR, from the territory of the other, or at long range.

TNF: Theatre Nuclear Forces. Europe is one of three theatres of war defined by NATO; the others are the Atlantic, and the relatively tiny Channel command – unlike the other two, under a British commander. The European theatre of war consists of continental Europe, and European USSR. Nuclear weapons in surrounding waters intended to be used in Europe may also be counted as theatre nuclear forces.

Tomahawk: The name given to the GLCMs (cruise missiles) by the Pentagon. Made by the US General Dynamics Corporation, they also have a type number, BGM109.

Tornado: Name given to the 'multi-role combat aircraft' now entering service in Germany, Italy and the UK. A major Tornado role is as a nuclear bomber, replacing, in Britain, Vulcan V-Bombers. Britain now has two Tornado squadrons, with a total of 220 being ordered.

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Contd from pIII

13 December 1982: House of Commons voted (by 318 to 236) to accept the deployment of the US cruise missiles.

15 December 1982: A new offer by the Soviet Union would reduce the level of intermediate range missiles in Europe to that of the French and British missile totals – 162 in all.

British and French governments refused to become involved in the Geneva INF talks. Francis Pym told Parliament that British Polaris missiles will not be part of multilateral disarmament discussions.

21 December 1982: Premier Andropov formally set out the Soviet negotiating position on INF missiles. (Reagan called the proposal 'inadequate'.)

12 January 1983: Eugene Rostow, head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was asked to resign by President Reagan. (Washington had been embarrassed by leaks that the Geneva negotiations had nearly succeeded: on the basis that the Soviets would reduce their missile totals to between 50 and 100, with cruise and Pershing not being deployed.)

17 January 1983: Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko offered extended negotiations covering both NATO and Warsaw Pact short range missiles. In an interview with Pravda, Andropov suggests going even further and reducing all nuclear weapons in Europe to zero.

27 January 1983: The INF talks in Geneva on the reduction of European nuclear missiles resumed. By mutual agreement, the proceedings are to be kept secret.

December 1983: The IOC (Interim Operational Capability) date by which cruise missiles are supposed to become operational at Greenham Common and Comiso in Sicily.

Nearly nuclear states

Despite 'safeguards', the bomb is spreading. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) proved inadequate to prevent the Indians diverting enough material from civil nuclear programmes to make weapons; and there are many non-safeguarded plants in the hands of the nearly- (or secretly-) nuclear powers.

China: After first atomic test in 1974, now has about 64 ICBMs and MRBMs with thermonuclear (hydrogen) warheads, and 50 smaller MRBMs as well as 90 medium bombers. China is only just beginning to develop intercontinental range missiles which could reach beyond Asia or the Soviet Union.

India: Carried out its first nuclear test explosion 'for peaceful purposes' in 1974. Indigenous fuel assembly, processing and reprocessing plants are located at Trombay and Hyderabad.

Pakistan: Attempting to manufacture the 'Islamic bomb', which might be made available to other Islam states. Uranium enrichment plant is modelled on a similar plant in the Netherlands; many essential pieces of sophisticated technology purchased in western Europe through network of 'front' companies. One Pakistani reactor is estimated to contain at least enough weapons-grade plutonium for perhaps 35 bombs.

South Africa: Suspected of carrying out a covert weapons test in the South Atlantic on 22 September 1979, possibly in conjunction with Israel. South Africa's Uranium enrichment plant, built with West German assistance, is not 'safeguarded' under international supervision.

Brazil: Also the recipient of West German assistance, Brazil is constructing complete nuclear fuel cycle equipment for both manufacturing and reprocessing nuclear fuel (at which stage the plutonium useful for nuclear weapons can be extracted from spent reactor fuel).

Argentina: Like Brazil, Argentina has refused to sign the NPT (see pV). The Treaty of Tlatelolco, prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America, is not in force for either country.

Chile: In the same treaty situation as Brazil and Argentina, Chile has two British research reactors ordered before the NPT came into force. (see news story, p4 of magazine).

Israel: Has been regularly reported since the mid-1970s to possess stocks, possibly considerable, of nuclear weapons. French-supplied research reactor at Dimona is believed to be source of the materials needed.

Cuba and North Korea: Have both received nuclear equipment and supplies from the Soviet Union, even though neither is a party to the NPT.

Other states with longer term nuclear weapons potential: These include Taiwan, Egypt, South Korea, Algeria, Libya, Syria and Saudi Arabia. Until the fall of the Shah, Iran was also prominent in this race. Other more industrialised countries (including Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and European NATO and Warsaw Pact members) have signed the NPT.

Often, NPT signatory states have appeared willing to sacrifice safeguards against nuclear weapons proliferation for commercial or political advantage. This is the case with the French sale of reactors to Libya and Iraq, and the West German supply of fuel cycle facilities to Brazil.

Further reading...

Disarming Europe (Merlin Press, 1982). Edited by Dan Smith and Mary Kaldor. One of the most useful contributions is a detailed study by Bill Arkin of the locations of the stockpiles of 'nuclear weapons in Europe'.

MoD: Defence Review (annually, usually in March/April). The authorised version of British defence strategy, with many basic facts and figures on British forces.

Recent reviews have provided useful and extensive information (and maps) on the location and extent of the British 'military-industrial complex'.

SIPRI Yearbook (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, annually). These are the bibles for almost any aspect of peace or military research. Each yearbook contains studies of strategic and European nuclear weapons, reports on the arms trade, chemical weapons, outer space weapons and a variety of selected special topics.

SIPRI have also produced an extensive range of reference books on arms control: *Armaments and disarmament in the nuclear age (1976); Strategic disarmament – verification and national security (1977); Arms Control – survey and appraisal of multilateral agreements (1978).*

The Arms Race and Arms Control (1982) is a useful paperback.

Janes Encyclopedias (Janes Weapons Systems, Janes Fighting Ships, etc). Definitive and often stomach-wrenchingly explicit on modern arms.

IISS Military Balance (International Institute of Strategic Studies, 23 Tavistock Street, London WC2). Its various publications are essential for serious students. It is an independent organisation, but its basic pro-NATO viewpoint is frequently observable.

The Defence of the Realm in the 1980s. Dan Smith. (Croom Helm, 1980). Well-informed critique of British defence policy; Smith is a former General Secretary of CND.

The Nuclear Numbers Game. Critique by Radical Statistics Nuclear Disarmament Group (BSSRS, 9 Poland St, W1).

Soviet Military Power. The original US report on Soviet Forces, published 1981.

Whence the Threat to Peace. Soviet riposte to 'Soviet Military Power'; obtainable from Collets Bookshop, London.

Protest and Survive, E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith (eds) (Penguin). Thompson's compelling original essay is reprinted here.

How to Make your Mind up about the Bomb, Robert Neild (Andre Deutsch). A lucid exposition of the pros and cons of nuclear deterrence as a defence policy for Britain.

As Lambs to the Slaughter, P. Rogers, M. Dando and P. van den Dungen (Arrow Books). A comprehensive one-volume guide to nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Illusion and Reality, Solly Zuckerman (Collins). His book indicates the disquiet felt in high places about current NATO doctrine.

Zero Option, E. P. Thompson (Merlin). An inspiring collection of substantial essays, (including 'Beyond the Cold War').

Defended to Death, Gwyn Prins (ed) (Penguin). Written by a group of Cambridge dons, this is the best-researched and most detailed argument yet for British unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the Arms Race, David Holloway (Yale UP). A scholarly and politically incisive account, whose conclusion emphasises the part that current decisions in the West will play in shaping future Soviet nuclear policy.

Duncan Campbell & M. H. Ryle

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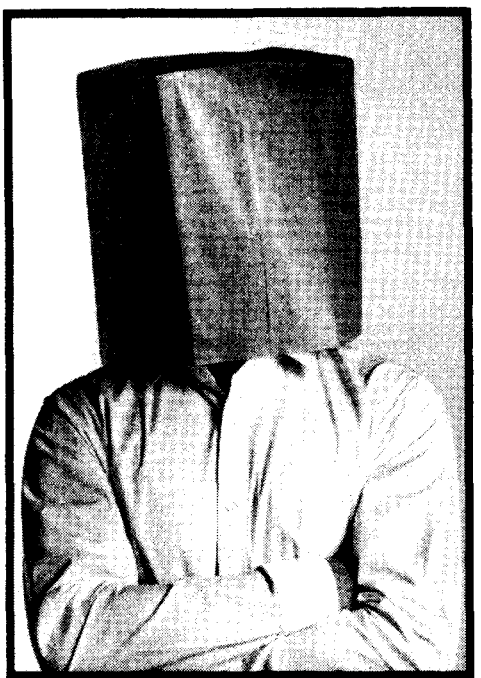

Public Enemy No.1.

Apathy and ignorance have made Man his own worst enemy.

We have stood by for too long, allowing commercial exploitation to pollute and destroy our natural world.

Acid rain poisons the lakes and rivers of N. America and Europe.

The world's rain forests are disappearing at the incredible rate of 20 acres every minute.

At least one animal species becomes extinct every week. Even the magnificent whales have been pushed to the brink of extinction.

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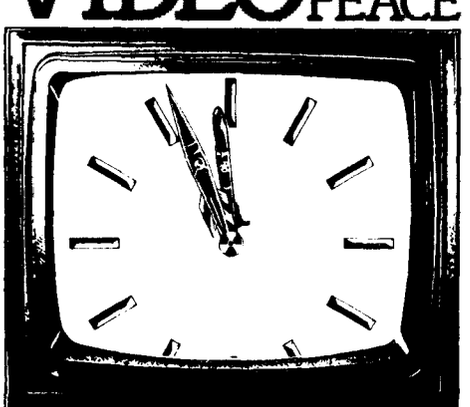

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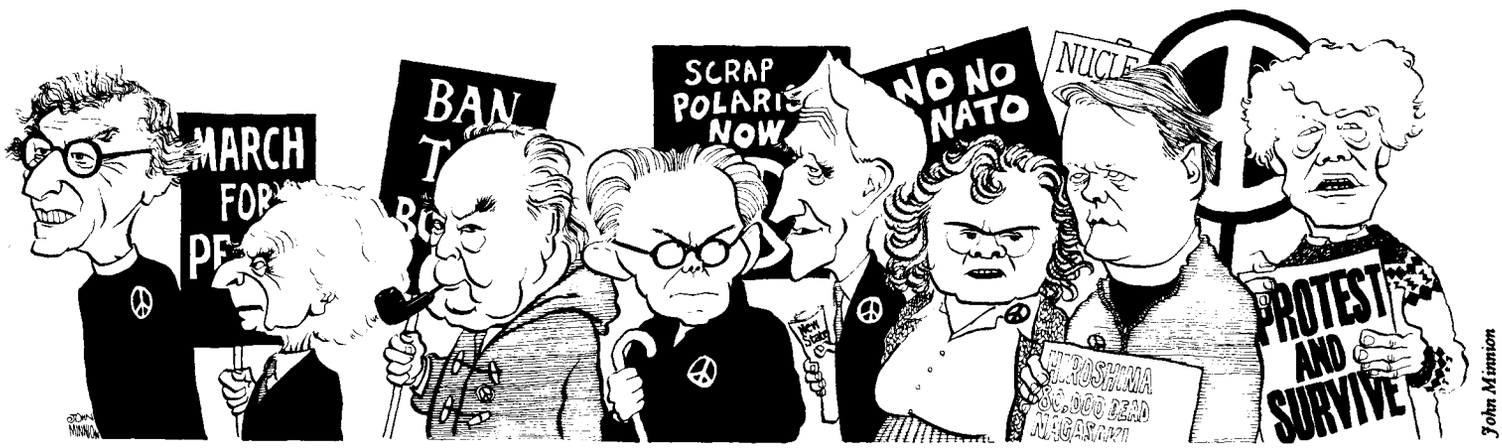

CND

Twenty-five years on the march

In the last three years CND has erupted into a mass movement. John Minnion looks back at the Campaign's earlier history and the personalities involved

HERE ARE A FEW excepts from a *New Statesman* article you may have missed.

> Though it is true that independent action by this country to ban nuclear bombs would involve our foreign minister in many difficulties, most of us would rather have a bewildered and overworked Foreign Office than a country about to be turned into a radioactive cemetery . . . We are told no men in their right minds would let loose such powers of destruction. Here is the realistic view . . . But surely it is the wildest idealism, at the furthest remove from a sober realism, to assume that men will always behave reasonably and in line with their best interests? For that matter, why should it be assumed that the men who create and control such monstrous devices are in their right minds?

The writer goes on to explain that the gamble of deterrence is particularly reckless for a small densely-populated country like Britain:

> We are like a man in a poker game who never dare cry 'I'll see you' . . . And though we may have been fooling ourselves, we have not been fooling anybody else.

Perhaps politicians have still not recognised that, with the advent of nuclear weapons, the whole nature of World War will have been changed:

> What will happen – and one wrong report by a sleepy observer might start it off – will not be anything recognisable as a war . . . It will be universal catastrophe and apocalypse, the crack of doom into which Communism, western democracy, their way of life and our way of life, may disappear for ever.

But there is another way:

> The British of these times, so frequently hiding their decent, kind faces behind masks of sullen apathy or sour, cheap cynicism, often seem to be waiting for something better than party squabbles and appeals to their narrowest self-interest, something great and noble in its intention that would make them feel good again. And this might well be a declaration to the world that after a certain date one power able to engage in nuclear warfare will reject the evil thing for ever.

That article appeared in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1957. It was written by J.B. Priestley. If you believe in single causes, it was the start of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. It attracted a massive positive response in letters to the editor. Kingsley Martin (then *New Statesman* editor) suggested a meeting, which was convened by Peggy Duff. The meeting included Priestley and Martin, Bertrand Russell, Michael Foot, James Cameron, Canon John Collins and 40 or so others; they agreed to start CND.

OF COURSE, LIFE IS never that simple. Two years before, a woman called Gertrude Fishwick had started a local Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests. By the end of 1957, there were over 100 such local groups and, in 1958, all but one became CND groups overnight. Even in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1957, Priestley's article did not stand alone. It was endorsed by a front-page leading article and, elsewhere in the paper, was a Vicky cartoon savagely satirising the HMSO report *The Hydrogen Bomb*.

John Minnion is co-editor of The CND Story, *to be published this month by Allison and Busby, and is to be distinguished from his cousin John Minnion who draws for the* New Statesman.

The crucial fact about CND is not who started it, but the breadth, depth, energy and enthusiasm of the support it attracted. Canon Collins, CND's first chairman, notes that one of the Campaign's major achievements was to open up dialogue and cooperation between pacifists and concerned non-pacifists responding to the threat of nuclear devastation. More obviously, it made it at last impossible to 'explain away' peace campaigning as the activities of *either* absolute pacifists *or* Communists and fellow-travellers. CND was clearly not a Communist Party front: in fact, the British Communist Party, cautious as ever, took two more years to abandon its multilateralist line on disarmament.

CND's *style* was also different from earlier pacifist and pro-Soviet campaigns: CNDers enjoyed themselves. Walking to and from Aldermaston, they didn't only listen to speeches by parsons and politicians: they also organised themselves into jazz, skiffle and folk groups. Of course, the early mass demonstrations were not *just* important as celebrations. They served to get CND's message noticed. Every Easter, the Aldermaston March ambled 50 miles like a gentle giant – a large crowd of people learning to know, to respect and value one another.

The Easter marches became a mixed blessing. When, from 1963 onwards, the numbers began to decline and disagreements on tactics surfaced, the marches dramatised these problems. Perhaps the worst effect of the early marches was that a number of CND groups saw themselves primarily as recruiting stations for Aldermaston.

ONE REASON FOR the Campaign's heavy

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emphasis on mass marches in the early years may have been the view, expressed by Canon Collins and other leaders, that CND only needed to conduct a short sharp campaign. This view also helps to explain the executive committee's initial reluctance to submit themselves to democratic elections, and the fact that there was no national CND membership scheme until 1966.

Ironically, it was this same feeling that the single issue of nuclear disarmament could yield to an urgent, short-term campaign that contributed to the mass civil disobedience campaign launched in 1960 by the Committee of 100. The irony lies in the fact that by the time it was formally wound up in 1968 the Committee had moved from the 'emergency action on a single issue' wing of the movement right across to the view that 'we need a long haul to change society first'. In retrospect, the launching of the Committee of 100 seems premature. Supporters did not seem ready to exploit their willingness to be arrested: they often virtually queued up to be carried into the police vans.

In the early '60s the nuclear disarmament campaign found it difficult to reach agreement over the use of civil disobedience. This was both a source and a symptom of frustrations. In 1963, a further frustration was added. One of the declared immediate aims of CND had been to stop nuclear bomb tests in the atmosphere – when Britain, Russia and America agreed to do so, not only did CND (predictably enough) get no credit for this measure, but many supporters seemed to feel that we should be satisified with this small step.

Another blow came when Harold Wilson's 1964 Labour government flouted its commitment to scrap independent British nuclear weapons. As the British Polaris submarines were launched in the late '60s, CND demonstrated – but the scale of activity was limited. In 1968, the Wilson government discreetly removed another easy CND target, without changing its basic nuclear strategy: Civil Defence was mothballed. (A similar mistake in the 1980s would be to concentrate on cruise and Trident, to the extent that our basic demand for a nuclear-free Britain could be neutralised by concessions on these relatively narrow demands.)

By the late '60s, the massive coalition that had been CND a few years earlier was beginning to fragment into separate groupings. At one end of the spectrum were many of the jazz, folk and blues musicians and their followers. They were still sympathetic to CND, but were more interested in rock festivals than marches or sit-downs. They had their own papers – *Oz*, *Friendz*, *International Times*. 'Make Love Not War' replaced 'Ban the Bomb'.

Fairly close to these were others who stayed in political activity, but focused on the smaller scale of community politics – *Peace News*, *Undercurrents*, and many small neighbourhood papers helped to service these groups. Again overlapping were supporters whose concern over the bomb had broadened to take in other threats to global survival. Population pressures were among the earliest problems to be identified, followed by worries over pollution and raw materials, focussing eventually on an emphasis on fuel and energy. These wrote and read *The Ecologist* and set up 'Friends of the Earth', 'The Conservation Society' and, eventually, the Ecology Party.

More concerned with immediate and tangible political issues were many from the New Left, to whose ranks had been added the 'revolutionary students' of the late '60s – the 'new New Left'. From the mid-sixties a compelling focus for this group, and increasingly for the whole of CND, was the war in Vietnam, later to spread to Laos and Cambodia.

For CND as a whole, the Vietnam war posed an acute dilemma. It was *not* a nuclear war, and though American politicians of the far right urged the use of nuclear weapons, the danger of nuclear war was not the main reason for the widespread horror of events there. Also CND was a non-aligned organisation – if you looked at all closely at the Vietnam war you could hardly avoid condemning the senseless American rampage.

BECAUSE THE CAMPAIGN's size had dwindled, the role of particular individuals in holding it together became more important than before. Remembered with particular affection is the late Malcolm Caldwell, who understood the significance of rock festivals and the style of alternative politics, and was sensitive to environmental and ecological issues. Above all, he was passionately committed to peace and justice in South East Asia – a cause which later led to his murder in Kampuchea.

In 1970, another way in which the diverse strands of the movement were drawn together was in a 'Festival for Life' in Victoria Park, East London. This was adopted as CND's main Easter activity that year; significantly, it was coordinated by a young Belgian, Anny Brackx, who had envied Britain for having a CND, refused to believe it was dead, and proved that it was not.

The Festival was a magnet for 20,000 people from all wings of the peace movement and well beyond. There were rock bands and poets, jazz bands and folksingers, inflatables and fringe theatre groups. There were posters, papers and wholefoods; big names, small names and nonentities. There were even a few Hell's Angels and lots of West Ham skinheads. Joan Littlewood helped Brighton Combination stage a satire on the Vietnam War and John Peel was on stage for a telephone link-up with John Lennon. 'Don't be afraid to take your trousers off for peace,' said Lennon, laconically.

Other CND Festivals followed. At their best – which was probably the 1971 Alexandra Park Festival – they really did feel like the tip of a counter-culture iceberg; although some more cautious CNDers were worried that they confused the issues and projected a hedonistic image.

By 1973, there were flickers of a revival in CND. The Easter march was from Glasgow to Faslane, and the sight of the British Polaris base seemed to breathe new fire into campaigners. In fact, Clydeside's campaigners had always maintained a particular energy and directness. These were the CNDers who had been there when the Russian leaders visiting Britain arrived in Glasgow. 'WELCOME TO YOUR NUMBER ONE TARGET,' said their banner. 1974 saw a return to the traditional four-day Aldermaston march; but, in 1975, Aldermaston was abandoned for something more constructive when the Campaign ran an Easter Teach-In on nuclear weapons. With young, talented full-timers like Zoë Fairbairns and Dan Smith, and the formidable John Cox as chairperson, the new 'educational' base began to the effective.

An 'Open Door' programme, *All Against the Bomb*, was put out by CND in 1976. And the Campaign gained further impetus from America's proposal in 1977 to supply the new neutron bomb to her European allies (this was the bomb that 'killed people without damaging property'). In December 1979 came NATO's 'modernisation' plan – the plan to base the new cruise missiles and longer range Pershing missiles in Western Europe. But, curiously enough, CND's most important ally has been Mrs Thatcher's Conservative Government. From 4,000 in 1979, it has built up CND's national membership to 54,000 last week. □

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LETTERS

Reacting

B. W. Skelcher, Head of Sizewell B Information Service, Central Electricity Generating Board, Suffolk

The article by Duncan Campbell and Colin Sweet (*NS* 7 Jan) hardly represents an unbiased view of the CEGB case. Although their interpretation is open to dispute it is, not my intention to indulge in a line by line analysis as the Board's case is currently being examined at a public inquiry. There are however at least three points of fact, which should be corrected furtherwith.

Contrary to what Messrs Campbell and Sweet claim the CEGB has not placed an order for the supply of a reactor pressure vessel. However, it has placed a design contract with Framatone so that it may go to the public inquiry with a specific design and a specific manufacture in mind. As a consequence the 'proof of evidence' on the pressure vessel (P44) has now been lodged, and the would-be manufacture will be a witness at the inquiry. This surely is a perfectly reasonable thing to do and in no way prejudges the outcome of the inquiry.

Messrs Campbell and Sweet are also wrong with their suggestion that site work has started ahead of consent being given. This is a myth that some objectors seem determined to propogate quite irrespective of the facts which are easily verified. Considerable site preparation work was carried out in the early 1970s in conjunction with an approval to build four AGRs at Sizewell. Construction buildings remain from that time and have been kept in weather-tight condition. Work on site has also taken place in as far as it was necessary to obtain design information. This includes sub-soil investigation necessary for the design of foundations and assessing vulnerability to earthquakes. Also experimental seabed trenching to enable decisions to be made on the best method of ducting sea water into the site. The spoil from this trenching was dumped on the 'B' site and some may have to be moved if the station goes ahead.

Finally the letter of intent to the National Nuclear Corporation does not place an order for the supply of the 'Nuclear Core of Sizewell B'. In effect it says that *if* the Board's proposals are sanctioned then an order would be placed with them for a Westinghouse nuclear steam supply system. This was necessary to enable NNC to trigger their Westinghouse licencees.

Third World poverty

Nick Butler, London SW16

Any coverage of the problems of the people of the Third World is welcome but I hope your readers will not take Michael Foot's brief article (*NS* 11 Feb) as an endorsement of the philosophy and strategy offered by the Brandt Commission in their latest report.

A programme of economic growth led by the developed countries of the West including Britain is long overdue and we must hope that someone soon will take up the initiative proposed by M Jacques Delors. But growth alone will not eradicate poverty and malnutrition. It is a necessary but not a sufficient condition.

The structure of Third World economies and the trading system will ensure that the benefits of growth go to the few – the rich and the powerful – unless economic relationships are changed and the institutions necessary to secure a constant redistribution of the proceeds of growth are established. The political nature of this essential development, and the fact that it would involve trades unions, seems to have frightened the Brandt Commission, who avoid the issue entirely.

"The Better Tomorrow' offered by Edward Heath and the other commissioners will only benefit the poor if government and aid agencies are prepared, by directing their resources, to support rather than hinder social and political change. This does not mean funding every revolutionary in sight, though revolution is what will certainly result from the propping up of the present system. Until the Brandt Commission is prepared to acknowledge the essentially political nature of the subject it is dealing with, we should view its global solutions with caution, and remember the old question, 'Qui Bono?'

Mothers or sisters?

Vivien Giladi, Enfield, Middx.

Whatever the merits of Angela McRobbie's review of various novels by women (*NS* 11 Feb), they were spoiled by her silly and self-indulgent observation that '*Stand We At Last* should be read not only by feminists but also by our mother's generation'. I suppose she thinks that feminism is the invention and exclusive preserve of her own particular age group and that the, often far sharper, struggles and experiences of earlier generations are in some way of no account? Is she trapped in the adolescent view that the grown-ups don't know anything about the real world or is she simply an ageist?

The singer not the dance

Robert Hutchison, London N19

In removing two words from my piece on the Arts Council (*NS* 4 Feb) you turned a truth into a falsehood. It is the case that every seat sold *for opera* at the Royal Opera House carries a £25 subsidy; but when ballet is taken into the picture the subsidy per seat falls considerably.

Books not for burning

Paul Fordham, University of Southampton

Kenya and particularly the University of Nairobi are going through a very difficult time; and the issue of civil rights is certainly very important. But it does no service to this cause if articles like that of Paul Okojie and Sheila Millar (*NS* 28 Jan) are guilty of over-statement and unaccuracies.

I have recently returned from a visit to Nairobi which included some use of the University Library and a number of visits to the University Bookshop. In the latter there are multiple copies of all of Ngugi's books and there was certainly no indication that these would not continue to be on sale for the foreseeable future. It is indeed the case that the Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Centre has been destroyed and that performances of a number of plays have been banned. However, it has not yet come to book burning.

I say this not to minimise the real problems, but in order that misleading statements shall not accumulate to the point where they become a justification for creating the conditions they are presumably designed to prevent or overcome.

Incidentally, George Githii has in his time edited both the *Nation* and the *Standard*. However, it was in the latter paper that he published the article which caused his most recent removal from office.

Irish questions

Henry Patterson, Ulster Polytechnic, Jordanstown, Co. Antrim

In a letter criticising Bernard Crick's 'amiable ignorance' of politics in Northern Ireland, (Letters 4 Feb) Tom Paulin is himself guilty of misrepresentation. The idea that 'an influential section of the "Loyalist" working class now holds to a non-sectarian socialist concept of an Independent Ulster' is a fantasy. In the recent Assembly elections the small party, linked to the UDA which does favour an Independent Ulster, though on grounds that are neither secular nor socialist, got a derisory vote. The Unionist middle class may be demoralised, but then it was never the main obstacle to the attainment of Irish Nationalist objectives. It is the Protestent working class, a substantial section of which is, officially or unoffically, armed, which is the real obstacle. If Paulin claims that 'the pursuit of social justice throughout Ireland can only follow the settlement of the National question,' he owes us as serious explanation as to how this obstacle will be removed.

Co-op bank charges

Jerry Hughes, Political Assistant, Co-op Political Committee, London E15

Concern has recently been expressed about possible bank charges being placed on Labour Movement accounts by the Co-op Bank.

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Paul Jorion

Watching the waves

In 1975, Skira, the Swiss art publisher, gave Claude Lévi-Strauss the opportunity to contribute to the series *Les sentiers de la Creation*, in which volumes by Ionesco, Barthes, Michaux and Butor, among others, had previously been published. The idea of the series was that short texts on themes linked to artistic creation would serve as pretexts for lavish illustration.

As his topic, Lévi-Strauss chose a codicil to the four volumes of the *Mythologiques* (1964-1971), a structural analysis of a small system composed of three ritual masks belonging to the Indian cultures of the North-west coast of North America. This reflection on material culture culminated in a moral lesson, a message addressed to the creative artist: whatever the independence of mind you ascribe to yourself, your contribution will necessarily find its place within a pre-existing and structured system of cultural markers. Therefore, however determined your self-assertion, your work will first and foremost tell about what you have chosen *not* to express:

> *In attempting to remain solitary, the artist* lulls himself in a perhaps fruitful illusion, but the privilege he grants himself is not real. When he thinks he is expressing himself spontaneously, creating an original work, he is answering other past or present, actual or potential, creators. Whether one knows it or not one never walks alone along the path of creation.

These, the final words of the French edition of 1975, now mark the end of the first part of the English text. Three later papers have been added, it seems at the initiative of the author, to round the argument off to the anticipated satisfaction of potential dissenters. So, the text has largely ceased to be just a pretext for illustration and the space allocated to the visual material has been considerably reduced.

THE THREE masks at the centre of the book are the Swaihwe of the Salish, the Xwexwe and Dzonokwa of the Kwakuitl, both Salish and Kwakiutl being wealthy Indian societies of what has become British Columbia. The 'canonical formula' accounting for the three-mask system reads as follows:

> When, from one group to another, the plastic form of the mask is preserved, the semantic function is inverted. On the other hand, when the semantic function is retained, it is the plastic form that is inverted.

The same message is beautifully conveyed by the colour insert. Indeed, closing the book, amounts to embedding the protuberant white Xwexwe mask into the hollow black Dzonokwa mask.

The proof is compelling, at least to anyone prepared to give credit to the structuralist line of argument. The reader of *Mythologiques* – in all likelihood a professional social anthropologist – may have been under the impression that the gradual methodological sophistication in the exposition demanded increasing faith in the validity of the intellectual venture. This is much less so here where methodology remains strictly under control, being restricted to the canonical inversion of universal binary oppositions, like man and woman, black and white, East and West. In a long introduction rescued from the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1943), the author reports lyrically on his long-lasting fascination with the material culture of the Indians of the current-day Washington State and British Columbia. They produce forms and colours which, as Lévi-Strauss hints, are not unlike those of the archaic Japanese and Chinese of the Chou dynasty. The spontaneous 'structurality, of this art, which is composed of ellipses, rectangles and circles in combination, has touched in Lévi-Strauss a responsive chord, and his fascination with it is therefore far from accidental. In a way similar to that of Freud's 'hysterics' inventing psychoanalysis to his listening ear, the Kwakiutl, by deconstructing the represented object as the summation of its appearances under rectangular perspectives, have been suggesting to Lévi-Strauss the very principles of structural analysis.

There are non-visual reasons, too, why the French student of Boas should have come under the sway of the North-west coast Indians: the promenade of the *Mythologiques* reveals the Kwakiutl and their neighbours as the eye of the cultural cyclone that swept over the whole continent in a matter of centuries. On Lévi-Strauss's northward progress from Central Brazil to Alaska, this culture was revealed as the nexus which had been giving his quest its hidden meaning from the beginning. However, there is another rationale for our interest in the Dionysiac Indian, closer to home and previously noticed by Marcel Mauss: sole among the primitives studied by the anthropologist, the North-west Indian may well be a fair approximation to the Neolithic dwellers in Europe 3,000 years ago. Hence a feeling of *déjà-vu*.

In one of the chapters of the English translation, Lévi-Strauss develops this argument by equating the Kwakiutl *numaym* (erroneously translated, as he shows, by 'clan') with the European 'house' or household, a unit at the crossroads of kinship and the economy. With both the *numaym* and the house,

> we are . . . in the presence of one and the same institution: a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the *transmission of its name, its goods, and its* titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both.

But the linking of the unit with the economy ensures that no one strategy will be profitable in all circumstances:

> the exogamous marriage is used to capture titles, the endogamous marriage is used to prevent their leaving the house once they have been acquired. It is therefore good strategy to use the two principles concurrently, according

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to the time and opportunity, in order to maximize gains and minimize losses. In the same way, European houses have always blended two practices: that of the distant marriage, and that of the marriage very near.

SUCH INCURSIONS into history – the justification of anthropology, or possibly its excuse – are not uncommon in Lévi-Strauss's writings. He has, however, been reproached by Marxists in particular for ignoring history and it is interesting to note that in *The Way of the Masks* he takes this reproach more seriously than he has previously done. He is at pains, for instance, to show that the incoherent construction of a particular myth proves that it is a later elaboration of another to which it is related by reversal of plot and characters, or that only a definite directionality in the transmission of a cultural trait can account for its form.

So Lévi-Strauss makes a show of replying to his critics, but the differences between them are actually of a more radical nature. Minor historical, or rather chronological, remarks have always been part of his method. What his critics reproach him for is not that he ignores the fact that things change but that his very approach to history undermines the notion of historical laws in human societies and cultures, laws such as would provide the revolutionary with guidance about future action.

The fact is that – however Marxist he may see himself to be – Lévi-Strauss's representation of the historical process undermines such a law-based view. A clear exposition of his own conception of the historical process is to be found in *Race and History*, an essay commissioned by UNESCO in 1953 and recently republished as chapter 18 of *Structural Anthropology 2* (Allen Lane, 1977). There he proposed a model of history as analogous to gambling by a variable number of actors free to collaborate. The isolated gambler is unlikely to obtain one of the winning combinations, but a coalition of actors who can capitalise on their companions' throws may succeed in no time.

The New World displays the difficulties of the isolated player while the Ancient World displays the success of a coalition pooling losses and gains. From deliberate or accidental collaboration there may emerge a cumulative process in which losses become increasingly unlikely. This process is not unlike the creation of a tidal wave from the random build-up of waves of modest magnitude. Interestingly, such a view, which seemed odd to say the least when it was first expressed in the Fifties, anticipated current developments in the thermodynamics of irreversible processes.

But where does this leave the revolutionary as a potential contributor to history? It leaves her in a position of possible fluctuation in a statistical system. Whether this fluctuation will grow or die down depends on its context. Marxists hold that Lévi-Strauss's view will prevent our revolutionary from even trying; Rodinson accused Lévi-Strauss of 'reducing Billancourt [say 'Corby'] to desperation'. This does not seem a necessary conclusion. □

FICTION
Grace Ingoldby

A bit of colour

The Joke
MILAN KUNDERA *Faber* £8.95
Deadeye Dick
KURT VONNEGUT *Cape* £7.50
Three Six Seven
PETER VANSITTART *Peter Owen* £8.95

Life in Czechoslovakia circa 1949 is a serious business; a cat may look at a king, but poking fun is a treasonable offence. In **The Joke** Ludvik, a clever, sceptical student sends a postcard to an impressionable girl: 'Optimism is the opium of the people! A healthy atmosphere stinks of stupidity! Long live Trotsky!' No-one is amused. He is expelled from university and the Communist Party, assigned indefinitely to a penal battalion. Robbed of the values he had hoped to live by, he feels himself expelled from life. Abandoned without dignity, he attempts to wreak revenge – a futile gesture in a world where nothing will be rectified, everything conveniently forgotten. Hope presents itself briefly in the form of Lucie, herself robbed, devastated in an elemental way; and his unfinished, unconsummated love affair with her provides a pivot for the book.

The novel's structure, allotting each character a turn beneath the spotlight, allows Kundera to concentrate with brilliant effect on the strategies they/we adopt in order to survive; for Ludvik is not alone; in context he is simply one among others who are hanging on. The need for gods, for a bit of colour, for some proof that the past existed, for dignity, the need in fact to take life's joke seriously is paramount. Kostka the Christian, doubting his motives, cleaves to God, Helena holds on almost fatally to an ideal of romantic love while her husband, Ludvik's condemner, seeks security by moving with the times. Jaroslav, the old friend, retreats into fantasy and Ludvik battles on against them all, clinging irrationally to the superstition that the story of his life has a meaning that begs to be deciphered.

The cast perform like joke mirrors, showing each other up. 'The Ride of Kings' which frames the action provides a further mirror to reflect their plight. This ancient Czech ritual, itself hanging on, a travesty of what it was, its message irrevocably lost, survives as a string of obscure gestures, faint music heard among the roar of passing traffic. There's not much lining, silver or otherwise, but this is an urgent rather than a gloomy read. It is distinguished by the energy of its compassion, insight and wisdom, and the sense that Kundera is not simply the spokesman informing us from the front but someone still involved in the fighting and the farce.

Previously mutilated by the twin distortions of Eastern censorship and journalistic oversimplification in the West, *The Joke* has taken almost twenty years to reach us in this new translation; to be read, as Kundera intended, 'merely as a novel'. It is an excellent and disturbing book.

IN **DEADEYE DICK** Vonnegut's hero makes his fatal mistake rather early on. Aged twelve he commits a double murder at a distance, killing the pregnant wife of the local newspaperman, an ardent disarmer. Not a good start for Rudolph – known hereafter as 'Deadeye Dick'. His story in this fable, the life of an egregious man in Modern America, cracks along, always clever, bizarre but not particularly funny, the satire just a little blunt. Rudolph was probably doomed anyway. His parents are wealthy weirdos. Pa thinks he's an artist and champions Hitler; Ma neither hugs nor cooks, a shadowy figure finally finished off by a radioactive mantlepiece(!). The book sheds new light on compulsive eating; the neutron bomb that knocks out the population of the hometown, Midland City, is followed by a recipe for banana soup. Why not? Vonnegut takes a long perspective here in order to see his target clearly; but although in his way he is still shooting, one senses it may be from a bunker.

Three Six Seven is a brilliant evocation of a year of terror seen through the eyes of Drusus, a hard-headed, self-made businessman, and written in the form of his memoirs. Britain, overtaxed and overlooked by Rome, is menaced by a four-sided attack from painted men, while, simultaneously, the ever-fragile structure of Romano-British civilisation is beginning to crack up. Nature shrieks through cracks in the paving, the smashing of sacred places releases energies that magnify the chaos, the line between rumour and reality is blurred, even Drusus feels himself 'jostled by the invisible'.

Beseiged in Silchester at the heart of a trading empire of his own creation, Drusus is well placed to see the possibilities and the potential of an independent Britain led by a provident, prescient, principled man, and ambitious enough to see this man as himself. Drusus is poised for action but there is a contender for the throne.

The battle for Britain is one of sobriety versus theatricality, for the contender is Maximus, a dangerously intoxicating chap, the stuff of legends, a man whose battle tactics (to feint, improvise, surprise, outflank) serve him well on and off the field. The novel, written with great scholarship and feeling, has a strong cast of minor characters and is crammed with authentic detail that never impedes its pace; it reads at times like a thriller.

Modern parallels abound, good reading for potential *Any Questions* panellists likely to insist that our age is more violent, our politicians less credible, than ever before. The plight of a people dependent for defence upon a power whose interests, in the final analysis, are centred elsewhere, sounds familiar; and Maximus, would have been (would be?) a sure-fire winner on the box. □

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PAPERBACKS
Alan Brien

Figures in space

'A PLACE is nothing, not even a space, Unless at its heart a figure stands', wrote Amy Lowell. And what figure in a landscape better equipped to mythologise a space than a poet? Geoffrey Grigson's **Poems & Places** (*Faber*, £3.50) is, as you would expect, a wide-ranging, idiosyncratic and topographically precise anthology.

He has frequently taken almost obsessive pains to establish exactly which place matches each poem, even when the poet has neglected to do so. In a characteristic note on William Allingham's schoolboy favourite, 'Up the airy mountain, Down the rushy glen', he observes: 'I take the "airy mountain" to be Slieveleague, which drops from a ridge to the sea on one side and to a dark lake on the other side.' He knows that Hardy's Phantom Horsewoman rides in North Cornwall, 'near Beeny Cliff', and that even today at Donne's primrose hill 'the most luxuriant large primroses grow all the way up the hill path to the ruins of Montgomery Castle'. He even corrects the poet – in 'Aurora Leigh', while Elizabeth Barrett Browning 'speaks of Shropshire, it is the Herefordshire scenery she is describing'.

Such confident, combative scholarship arouses its own exhilaration. But the rather short-weight introduction of a mere three pages is the source of a growing feeling that the anthology, though full of interest, and containing many surprises, is nevertheless oddly unsatisfying. It contains a very untypical slip in an accuracy the apparatus has conditioned us to expect. Quoting the three lines from Robert Browning which he claims were those which first 'converted' him to the poet, he mistranscribes the central one as 'The wild red tulip, at the end of its tube, blows out its great red bell', adding an intrusive 'red' before 'tulip', breaking the rhythm, and weakening the run-on to 'Like a thin clear bubble of blood'.

It is not immediately apparent why a volume entitled 'Poems & Places' should restrict itself largely to British places. With two exceptions, the rest of the world gets no mention. And I am unclear quite who is represented by the almost Shakespeareanly royal plural in the sentence – 'Across the Channel, up to the present . . . our general emotions have flowed with most willingness and familiarity into France and Italy'. Why do We not also flow into Germany or Spain?

A second browse reveals some odd gaps. No Swift – not even his marvellous 'Description of the Morning' which packs into 18 lines a wealth of brilliant detail and savage social observation. No Pope – not even an extract from 'Windsor Forest', a place poem if ever there was one, nor the 'Epistle to Martha Blount on her leaving the Town after the Coronation'. It was an extract from this, in Grigson's 1946 anthology *Before the Romantics*,

> She went to plain-work and to purling brooks,
> Old-fashioned halls, dull aunts, and croaking rooks,
> She went from Op'ra, park, assembly, play,
> To morning walks, and pray'rs three times a day;

which first converted me to Pope.

That collection was dedicated 'for W. H. Auden', yet now we have no Auden, not even his 'Oxford'. Instead, Grigson includes the tired, false and mechanical undergraduate ode from Lionel Johnson – 'Over the four long years!'. Grigson seems to have become awed with his own researches, preferring poems which can be located, whatever their quality, to those which give pleasure, excitement and illumination. In the end, it is hard not to notice the spaces rather than the places.

JAMES MORRIS's **Venice** (*Faber*, £3.95), a portrait of the world's most accessible and tourist-haunted city, has none of the easy allure of the first-hand account of a place the rest of us will never visit, and would not dare explore alone if we did. The adventure is in the writing, the vividness, intelligence and accuracy of the words on the page, as the author with an enviable ease, which looks so easy because it never flags, loads every rift with ore. I take at random one sentence: 'It is encircled with illusory reflections, like mirages in the desert – wavering trees and blurred hillocks, ships without hulls, imaginary marshes: and among these hallucinations the water reclines in a kind of trance.'

Morris bends his prose to the semblance of poetry, saying several things at once instead of one thing at a time. My only reservation, particularly obtrusive since every reader of this author's work must now know of the transformation from James to Jan, lies in the one false note of macho flirtatiousness, almost to the verge of bottom-pinching, that has survived any revisions since first publication in 1960. The invocation of Venice as 'La Serenissima', a sensual, sexy aristocratic whore, arousing 'libidinous or perhaps narcotic rapture' as at the presence of 'some creature of unattainable desirability' now sounds forced and bogus. And this edition is the only book I have ever read where not a single entry in the index, from 'Accademia Bridge' to 'Zobenigo family', refers to the correct page in the text.

PETER FLEMING's **One's Company** (*Penguin*, £2.95) is a classic of the amateur-gentleman school. He regularly insists in a manner that sometimes suggests a letter from Bertie Wooster to the Drones Club – though also revealing an alter ego of Jeevesian steeliness and ingenuity – that what we are about to read is 'accurate but dull'. He complains that life does not offer 'to one who reports it with such pious and boring fidelity an occasional good-conduct prize in the shape of an authentically Strong Situation'. But, of course, even as he pens these not entirely insincere observations, we know that he is facing privations, dangers and sufferings on his pre-war journey through Russia and China with amazing bravery and high spirits.

He is a much better writer than he permits himself to remind us. Even when a certain intellectual obtuseness, involved in the paradoxical role of the Old Etonian Hemingway, prevents him from quite understanding what he is describing, he puts down what he sees with intuitive accuracy. He cannot quite appreciate, for example, the appalling fate, literally worse than death, of being a press-ganged whore to Japanese troops, yet he notes: 'I felt awkward, as one might in the presence of a corpse.' The result is a ripping yarn of high adventure which works on several levels for the reader over his shoulder.

Eric Newby is a more congenial figure and his **Love and War in the Apennines** (*Picador*, £1.95) starts with him in an Italian prisoner-of-war camp, uncomfortably penned in with a lot of upper-class twits, like bad carbon copies of Fleming. When the Italians opt out of the war, he takes to the mountains, living in almost animal isolation and solitary confinement, helped and protected, and finally betrayed, by the peasants who risk their lives for this mysterious stranger. Newby has an almost Orwellian honesty about himself and his exploits that makes the history at once comic, candid and continually frightening.

Since the account was not written until 1970, almost 25 years after the event, a good deal must depend on memory tinged with imagination. Nevertheless, it retains the immediacy of a diary, without ever giving off a whiff of that unacknowledged, familiar companion of the travel-writer, Ben Trovato. And in the companion work, **Slowly Down the Ganges** (*Picador*, £2.50), a much gentler, less arduous odyssey, though not without its pains and perils, we see the same combination of generosity and curiosity, intelligence and sympathy, at work.

Isak Dinesen's **Letters from Africa** (*Picador*, £3.95) is the raw material from which Baroness Blixen hewed her works. Much of it now reads more like The Diary of an African Nobody, often unintentionally funny in its pomposities, pretensions, snobberies and social failures, particularly playing hostess to the Prince of Wales.

My favourite moment is when, with what she allows to be seen as unthinking courage, she saves her dog from a speeding train. Writing to her brother, she recounts 'Berkely Cole, who was standing in the compartment, said: "It was the bravest thing I have seen in my life".' Writing the same day to her mother, the obscure Cole is eliminated and the most important figure in East Africa is substituted. She writes: 'Lord Delamere, who was in the carriage, said "It was the pluckiest thing I have seen in my life".' □

Among this week's contributors:

DR PAUL JORION is on the staff of the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge.

M. H. RYLE is the author of *The Politics of Nuclear Disarmament* (Pluto).

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The CND Story
ed. JOHN MINNION & PHILIP BOLSOVER *Allison & Busby* £5.95 & £1.95 *(pub. 24 Feb.)*

Defended to Death
ed. GWYN PRINS *Pelican* £3.50

A reviewer hostile to the disarmament movement could make much of the disagreements between the contributors to *The CND Story*. Opposition to nuclear weapons, argues Howard Clark, entails opposition to civil atomic energy, but John Fremiln sees this as a mistaken and damaging extension of the campaign's platform; Hugh Jenkins insists that British unilateralism is the one crucial goal, while according to E. P. Thompson 'only a multi-national campaign . . . will be powerful enough'; some writers express deep suspicion of political parties, while others claim that they alone provide the institutional means by which the movement can attain its ends. The editors' deliberate decision to allow such differences to surface is, however, justified: one retains a sense, not of division, but of a rare tolerance and solidarity. Those involved in CND will find this a stirring book, celebratory rather than analytic, and none the worse for that. 1983 marks the 25th anniversary of the movement's founding, and the need for mass anti-nuclear agitation has never been clearer or more urgent.

One great gain of the 1980s has been the way in which popular protest has generated academic and scientific research. The latest example of this is *Defended to Death*, the collaborative achievement of ten Cambridge dons (I should mention that one contributor, the astronomer Martin Ryle, is related to me, though we are not, *pace* the *Guardian*'s letters editor, the same person). The authors' technical expertise is evident – particularly in their devastating critique of the British civil nuclear programme; but the book is also a model of rational argument, decisively refuting the MoD's statement of the case for deterrence, and setting forth in unmatched detail the argument for unilateralism. Anyone concerned about nuclear weapons, but uncertain whether there is a way out of today's seeming dead end, should read this book.

M. H. Ryle

Introduction to the Sociology of 'Developing Societies'
ed. HAMZA ALAVI and TEODOR SHANIN *Macmillan* £12.95 & £5.95

This 'reader' of almost 500 pages is the first instalment, as it were, of a large-scale project in which eight further volumes are promised. There are familiar difficulties in putting together a collection such as this. Stance is not a problem: just about every contribution (bar some illustrative snippets from the likes of Cecil Rhodes; an agreeable innovation, this) is pretty much in the 'dependency' or 'neo-Marxist' mould, which has come virtually to dominate development studies in the past decade.

Perhaps the most basic dilemma for a 'reader' is whether to collect the best of what already exists or to commission new work. Most people in the field will already be familiar with the chunks of Magdoff, Wallerstein, Emmanuel, Cardoso, Hymer, Baran and Amin which are reproduced in this volume. (For students and newcomers, though, it is useful to bring them together like this.)

Most substantive interest, however, attachs to the ten chapters of new work. These include two characteristically lucid papers by Hamza Alavi, on the structure of peripheral capitalism and state and class therein. Part Five features excellent accounts by Bryan Roberts of Third World cities, and by Frances Pine on women in the division of labour.

And yet, and yet . . . The attentive reader will already have discerned the rather faint note of praise in this review. I am very much in sympathy with the book's general perspective. Why can't I be more enthusiastic about it?

For a mixture of reasons, I guess. For a start, there are gaps. Some the editors themselves admit: in part four, nothing on local politics or political movements. But also nothing anywhere specifically on agriculture; nothing on religion; a single desultory page on environmental issues.

My other nagging doubts I suddenly found aired in the book itself. In a characteristically wise, witty and ruminative endpiece, Basil Davidson states firmly that 'a prime need now is to return to study of the evidence'. Yes, I thought, that's it. What's wrong with this book is that you can plough through fully 235 pages and 17 chapters of more or less undiluted general political economy before coming upon a study (of poverty in Asia) specific in focus and avowedly grounded in specially undertaken empirical research.

My other worry is also articulated by Davidson. He compares much of the development literature to bouncing on a trampoline: 'We see them going up and down, often with an impressive energy; but they stay in the same place.' The dependency perspective was once a novel critique of a stultifying orthodoxy, and it still has much to say. Yet the first half of this book not only sounds like variations on a theme, but also seems to miss the new chimes of the 1980s. Partially excepting Michael Barratt Brown's chapter, there is little on post-OPEC developments, the new industrialising countries, or the changing international division of labour. Even though the book has this unexpected aura of a retrospective, it is still very useful. But the frontiers of knowledge, I suspect, have moved on.

Aidan Foster-Carter

Francis Kilvert and his World
FREDERICK GRICE *Caliban* £10

Frederick Grice's lasting obsession is Francis Kilvert, the 19th-century parson-diarist, and he has rounded up in this book all the relevant information to date. He reveals all known aspects of the man who, from his private diary, appears now as 'poet manqué, as a cleric with poor prospects, as a rejected lover, as a passionate young man with no outlet for his deepest impulses and aspirations, and as a creative artist'.

Skeletons detected rattling in Kilvert's cupboards are not allowed to remain undisturbed. Grice struggles to account for Kilvert's philanderings with pretty young girls (he would walk ten miles for the taste of one such apple of his eye). An early entry in Kilvert's diary describes the sight of a girl's bare buttocks on a swing and comments that her 'flesh was plump and in excellent whipping condition'. Maybe it was a joke, but Grice and others have taken him seriously. Grice comments, 'paedophilia was almost as fashionable an eccentricity in the 1870s as homosexuality in the 1970s'. We need less of the biographer as psycho-sociologist making that sort of contentious statement. Grice's book is for the Kilvert fanatic. Others should stick to the famous diary.

Brian Martin

Nuclear Power in the Developing World
DANIEL PONEMAN *Allen & Unwin* £14.95

Why have dozens of nations all over the Third World thought about acquiring nuclear power stations despite having huge untapped energy reserves and chronic shortages of capital and skilled labour and often no distribution system to take the nuclear electricity to potential consumers, who in turn lack electrical appliances to use it? Poneman's book is a useful examination of the forces which have led Third World countries to build up their own nuclear industries or to buy nuclear technology from overseas, and of the reasons why nuclear programmes throughout the Third World have collapsed: in the case of Iran, Indonesia and elsewhere, collapsed to leave no nuclear power plant at all.

Poneman concludes that the powerful foreign-backed forces in favour of nuclear power are prone to defeat by lobbies in favour of fossil and renewable energy, by finance ministries and by the sheer difficulty of making nuclear power deliver. In an analysis of praiseworthy lucidity, he also makes the valuable point that nuclear power is a rarity in the Third World. The policies of the countries which have decided against going nuclear are at least as interesting as other countries' reasons for going nuclear.

Martin Ince

Economic Sanctions
ROBIN RENWICK *Croom Helm* £9.95

Robin Renwick, former head of the Foreign Office's Rhodesia Department, is well-placed to examine the problems of using the sanctions weapon. In 1980-81 Renwick spent a year at Harvard University studying the efficacy of sanctions, and the resulting volume is a hard-headed account of the pitfalls of economic pressure. Now the author is back in the diplomatic service.

It is highly unusual for a serving official to publish a book on such a political topic, and the text had to be cleared with former Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington. Renwick begins by pointing out that one of the more curious features about the sanctions story is the way that the experience of past cases has tended to be overlooked on each new occasion. What is needed, he argues, is a realistic analysis of how sanctions actually work.

Renwick's comments on the failure of the Rhodesian sanctions is obviously of particular interest because of his personal involvement at the Foreign Office. Originally, exaggerated expectations were held because of the static nature of the assessments prepared at the time of UDI: Smith was to be toppled within weeks rather than months. But it soon became clear that even within Whitehall there was a lack of unity. Renwick remarks: 'It is frequently hard to reconcile the conflicting requirements of – or pressures on – the various departments of Government, to say nothing of the banks and other agencies involved . . . Much greater bureaucratic tenacity is required in the pursuit of breaches . . .'

Renwick's conclusions are cautious, as befits a diplomat, but he argues that sanctions must 'affect a significant proportion of the target country's external trade (or external finance)' and that there must be 'sufficient international support'. Without these conditions, there is always the danger that token sanctions will produce the reverse effect to that intended, by strengthening the resolve of the target country.

Martin Bailey

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ART
John Spurling

Secret history

'Wood on the Downs' by Paul Nash

Landscape in Britain 1850-1950
Hayward, until 17 April, then Bristol, Stoke-on-Trent, Sheffield

Frances Spalding's and Ian Jeffrey's catalogue for *Landscape in Britain* is a mine of curious information. Bland and derivative though many of their works may be, the artists themselves, to judge from their potted biographies, lived lives as colourful and sometimes as tragic as more famous painters. Take the Scottish artist Leslie Hunter (1879-1931):

> Following the untimely death of both his brother and sister, Hunter's family moved to California. After a vain effort to become a farmer, he took up art and visited Paris in 1904 . . . His first one-man show was destroyed the day before it was due to open by the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 . . . He had little regard for money, was unconscious of disorder and was frequently hard up . . . he lived in France between 1927 and 1929, moving from place to place along the Mediterranean coast, until a breakdown compelled his removal to a hospital in Nice.

Or the Australian, Derwent Lees (1885-1931), who lost a leg in a riding accident and later became a friend and drinking-companion of J. D. Innes and Augustus John: 'Like Innes and John, a successful philanderer, despite his wooden leg, but also suffered from incipient mental ill-health which confined him to an asylum from 1918 until his death.' The Sheffield artist Harry Epworth Allen (1894-1958) lost a leg in the First World War, the London artist Paul Maitland (1863-1909) 'suffered throughout his life from a curved spine which caused his premature death' (as a baby he had been dropped by his nanny).

Many others died young: J. D. Innes of tuberculosis, Sydney Carline and Spencer Frederick Gore of pneumonia, Arthur Melville of typhoid, Frank O'Meara of malaria, Christopher Wood fell under an express train at Salisbury station, Dora Carrington, Mark Gertler and John Minton committed suicide, Graham Bell, Eric Ravilious and Peter Lanyon were killed in 'plane crashes, Rex Whistler in the Normandy landings. Of course there are scores of others who came to more timely ends: one of them invented dazzle camouflage and knew the man who invented the HMV dog, another designed the Black Magic chocolate box, a third was 'a cricketer who cares about fishing', a fourth married the author of 'up the airy mountain'. But somehow – probably just because it tends to be excluded from the pictures – the catalogue leaves one with a particularly strong sense of the sadness and roughness of life, nowhere more so than in the entry for Harold Gilman who, before dying in the influenza epidemic of 1918, 'became a Socialist and developed a dread and mistrust of society, possibly as a result of the failure of his first marriage and the loss of a teaching post at the Westminster Institute'.

In addition to the potted biographies there is an equally fascinating Chronology, setting the social and artistic events of each decade side by side in parallel columns, so that the deaths of Wordsworth and Turner, Ruskin's championship of the Pre-Raphaelites and the Great Exhibition of 1851 can be seen to coincide with the 1851 census which 'revealed that, for the first time, the size of the urban population of England exceeded that of the rural'. Writing about the literature of the period, Donald Davie remarks that 'undoubtedly for the most industrialised and urban of nations to seek so persistently in its art for the pastoral, the pre-industrial, can hardly be a sign of health'. In the light of its catalogue this exhibition seems less like an ordinary art-show than a secret history of British life between the Great Exhibition and the Festival of Britain, the tale of a resolutely rural, quietist and retiring race which had industrial expansion and imperial pretensions thrust upon it, but declined finally to be saddled with either.

The pictures themselves include posters and photographs as well as paintings, drawings and prints and they are chosen and displayed with the same care and knowledge evident in the catalogue. This is, one feels, as fair and thorough a selection as it would be possible to compile and it contains many beautiful and unfamiliar works. The Pre-Raphaelites, without their soppy figures, show up well as the poets of nature's minute detail and intense colour; the semi-abstract generation born around the turn of the century – especially Ben and Winifred Nicholson, Paul Nash and Christopher Wood – come out best, discarding detail in favour of the underlying forms of landscape, but retaining the poetry of colour; individual artists, better known for genres other than landscape, chip in with memorable *jeux d'esprits*: Alma-Tadema briefly abandons Ancient Rome to show a young lepidopterist in explorer's kit lying reading at the edge of a hot Surrey cornfield, Burne-Jones takes time off from his interminable series of look-alike ladies from legend to depict the telegraph poles along a road near Rottingdean, Edward Burra transfers his surrealistic eye from urban grotesque to a crowded beach scene of fishing-boats, sea-going tackle and a line of billowing clothes hung out to dry.

But the exhibition reveals this century of British landscape painting as itself something of a washing-line in a high wind. After the Pre-Raphaelites and the Barbizon-style realists, the line sags dangerously into what one of the catalogue entries calls 'milk-and-water Impressionism'. Hastily and imperfectly propped up by the Camden Towners

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with help from the Post-Impressionists – Gauguin's colour, Seurat's stippling, Cézanne's volume – it collapses again under the clumsy banalities of Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant; raised once more, this time with considerable panache and native originality, by the Nicholson brigade, it soon starts to decline into the pretty charm of Piper, Pasmore and Mary Potter. In among all these innovators and would-be innovators, of course, regardless of their efforts, the unregenerate naturalists still trudge out to capture their academic views and still occasionally come back with a winner. Norman Garstin did it in 1889 with his view of the wet promenade of a seaside town, *The Rain It Raineth Every Day*, and James McIntosh Patrick with his sharp-focus panorama, *Autumn, Kinnordy*, in 1936.

But the two most haunting pictures in the Hayward are those which show the landscape brutalised – Fred Taylor's chalk drawing of *An Artillery Battery at the Battle of the Somme at Night* and Paul Nash's famous vision from the same war of churned mud and torn trees, *We are making a new world*. The British penchant for landscape and the escape it offers from the new world we ourselves first created 'can hardly be a sign of health', no; but in the circumstances it hardly looks insane either. Besides, the variety and uneven quality of this exhibition demonstrate how far we are still from pinning down our complex feelings on the subject. Landscape painting is in some sense our parochial version of modern history painting. Through it we tell ourselves that we are still here and that it is still worth being here. □

TELEVISION – 1
Nina Hibbin

In particular

I'VE BEEN WATCHING more, not less, TV over the past three months, and I want to batter my way into the statistics. Overall viewing figures may show a decline, but there's got to be a way of registering the sizeable (and for all I know growing) number of us who have found in Channel Four's mixed bag of offerings a glimmer of an alternative to the cocksure predictability of standard TV.

It's not the music and drama 'specials', which are spread across all channels, that define the difference; it's the way people look and speak, the songs they sing, the jokes they tell, the games they play and, above all, the things they argue about and the emergent conflict of ideas.

Channel 4's modest achievement so far is the shift it has made from the general to the particular. By widening the overall range of programmes but limiting the scope of its individual programmes, it has begun to fragment the notional 'norm' which is at the core of traditional TV and to set up smaller pivotal points around which ideas can be talked about or fictionalised in depth, instead of being nibbled at in breadth.

What, for instance, makes **Black on Black** one of the most attractive series on TV (in addition to the stunning qualities of its presenter, Beverley Anderson) is that its mandate – to provide news and cultural items of interest to the black community – is so specific. This lays the basis for sharp-edged and stimulating discussion and entertainment that can reach out way beyond its designated audience. And if **Union World,** which can discuss controversial trade union issues without being sidetracked by an employer's wholly irrelevant intervention, had been in existence a couple of years ago, there would have been a natural place for the Ken Loach-Barry Hines steel strikers' documentary *A Question of Leadership* without the official rough treatment to which it was subjected at the time.

So – never mind the ratings; feel the potential. Three months is no time at all for viewers, grown cynical after a long-standing surfeit of blandness, to cotton on to a more prickly style of presentation, or for alternative communicators to get to grips with the mass audiences from which they have for so long been isolated – a point of particular relevance to film-makers.

CHANNEL 4's policy of injecting money into British cinema by commissioning films and supporting up-and-coming film-makers could have far-reaching effects. It has already given a shot in the arm to established directors, like Ken Francis, whose *Giro City* touches on some very raw spots in politics and in TV newsmongering, and to what has become known, rather confusingly, as 'the independent sector' – the film workshops, regional groupings, experimenters and small production companies who have been funded in the past mainly by small grants from the British Film Institute, the Arts Council and the regional arts associations.

For these radical film-makers, the prospect of reaching a far wider public than ever before re-opens an old controversy. Should they aim to push forward the frontiers of conventional entertainment (as Ken Francis did, by using a thriller format for *Giro City*) or should they be creating new forms of expression?

As a reaction to the manipulative techniques of the standard screen approach, many of them have long been bogged down in a kind of neo-puritanism – a suspicion of everything which is entertaining and enjoyable; a notion that honesty must be laid-back, unemotional and non-persuasive. (Even as broadly-based and innovatory a TV series as **The Friday Alternative** is not immune. Its revelations of the news-gathering processes and of the pressures and influences which shape the way the news is presented make gripping TV. But its own alternative news items are sometimes so low-key they practically die on their feet.)

The series of low-budget documentary films from the 'independent sector' which have been screened in the late-night programme **The Eleventh Hour** illustrate the problem – and the possibilities. Those shown before Christmas were not commissioned by Channel 4 but were selected from existing productions. Most of them use one or more of a variety of techniques to unhook the viewer from emotional involvement – fragmentation; long, slow, self-conscious camera movements; heavy reliance on literacy or historical texts in voice-over or in titles. Important and exciting material is rendered lifeless.

'Aren't you worried that you might bore your audience?' (or words to that effect: I wasn't taking notes) someone asked Laura Mulvey in a discussion after **Amy**, a feminist psycho-analytical exploration of aspects of Amy Johnson's life, which she co-produced with Peter Wollen. 'I'm an experimental film-maker, so it's a risk I have to take' was her reply – a curious regression to art-for-art's sake. Experiment, for film-makers committed to social change, must surely mean finding new ways of winning audiences, not of losing them.

The January *Eleventh Hour* screenings included two documentary films which had been specially commissioned. The difference was striking. In Maxim Ford's **Live a Life,** shots of a reggae concert for the unemployed are intercut with a collage of relevant images and with discussion among youngsters, ranging from shiny-eyed tots announcing what they want to be when they grow up to embittered teenagers with no job prospects. Its communication with its audience is immediate, urgent and warm.

Melanie Chait's **Veronica 4 Rose** is about young gay women trying with courage and humour, but not altogether with success, to overcome the difficulties and prejudices they encounter in their everyday lives. It consists of two closely interlinked elements – a film-within-the-film and a filmed discussion about it, involving the same women. This enables you to see the women from two vantage-points and therefore to get doubly close to their personalities and problems. A third vantage-point emerges in the discussion, when they criticise the original film because it doesn't express their feelings clearly enough. What, they wonder, will their parents and neighbours think when they see the whole thing on TV? Their disarming admission that the language which they have shared to boost each others' confidence is not persuasive enough for the big world outside contributes to the film's own persuasiveness – a fascinating example of the shifting thrust of independent film-making to meet the new possibilities, captured at the very moment of change.

The Channel 4 shake-out has so far been on a very minor scale. But it would be a tragedy if the powers-that-be were to clip the wings of this promising fledgling by the kind of suppression which William Boyd described in a recent *NS* or by the invocation of narrow concepts of 'balance' that run counter to Channel 4's stated commitment to 'a plurality of perspectives and values'.

If all that minority TV is ultimately going to mean to them is American football and a nightly hour of newscasting I might as well go and join a video library and swell the ranks of the defectors. □

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TELEVISION–2
William Boyd

Credibility gap

WHY ADAPT a D. H. Lawrence novella? What could have been the motives? Some of them are fairly easily arrived at. For a start there's a lot of strong emotion swilling around a Lawrence text – there are usually 'good' parts in it for the actors, male and female. **The Captain's Doll** is no exception. There is the added bonus that large chunks of it are set in Germany and Austria and the central female character is German: ample opportunities for glossy locations and fertile ground for a European co-production deal. Furthermore, a novella is just the right length, there tends to be a lot of dialogue in Lawrence anyway and the author is dead – won't be complaining about the adaptation.

This all sounds fairly meretricious and is probably quite unfair. *The Captain's Doll* (BBC-2) was, in terms of its production values, highly commendable. The period detail (post-WWI) was faultless, the photography was beautiful, the acting good (Jeremy Irons and Gila von Weitershausen in the key roles) and the adaptation, by James Saunders, was both thoughtful and bold. So what am I complaining about? Well the problem is that all these factors are incidental to the tale. Had anyone, I wonder, ever stopped to think what it was all about? Had anyone asked themselves just what it was they were expending all this effort on saying? Because when you step back from the entrancing details and consider the point of it all – the Lawrentian metaphysic – you wonder why anyone bothers with Lawrence at all.

The novella, like *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, lays down the conditions for the ideal male/female relationship. A dissatisfied Scottish officer, Alexander Hepburn, has a love affair with a beautiful German countess in Germany after the First World War. Hepburn's wife dies and Hepburn leaves Germany. But he grows increasingly disenchanted with his life in England and returns to Europe to seek out his former lover. They meet, they have a long discussion about the sort of relationship they each require. Hepburn offers her marriage based not on love but on obedience and honour, i.e. *she* has to and honour *him*. Women who love and adore their men make dolls out of them. The countess ponders a while but accepts Hepburn's terms.

For Lawrence men were 'sons of God' and women merely 'daughters of men'. The Lawrentian creed is a lot more complex than that but it's founded on that simple equation. All of Lawrence's work is devoted to exploring, analysing and proselytising for that point of view. *The Captain's Doll*, not to put too fine a point on it, is a piece of elegant propaganda. At the end, when the countess agrees to Hepburn's proposition, what are we meant to think? The Lawrentians among us will give three cheers but to the vast majority these days it must look increasingly batty and unconvincing. Hence my bafflement about the motives for adapting it. Do the producers and all those responsible for putting the thing together adhere to the story's conclusion? Do they think it holds water? Is it even respectable? I would say not or, to put it another way, it's pretty eccentric, not to say crackpot. At the end of the film I remained utterly unconvinced, an attitude, I would hazard a guess, that would be almost universally shared.

It's an attitude that the novella prompts too, but less forcefully. In the book one has far greater acquaintance with the characters' interior lives: Lawrence is generously explicit about their various needs and disappointments. On film – necessarily – all these aspects have to be implicit, somehow demonstrated or dramatised. In the book we get 'The countess loved . . . the strange dark vacancy of his brow, his not-thinking.' Poor Jeremy Irons. 'Could we have a touch more dark vacancy please, Jeremy?' In actual fact the adaptation was impressive and vigorous. In one area – the death of Hepburn's wife – Saunders, in my opinion, improved on the text. But that sort of subtlety couldn't save the day. It's very hard to save Lawrence from ridiculousness, and slowly, remorselessly, that was the direction *The Captain's Doll* took. □

THEATRE
Benedict Nightingale

In the closet

Care
ROY MITCHELL *Theatre Upstairs*
You Should See Us Now
PETER TINNISWOOD *Greenwich*
Any Minute Now
DAVID MACLELLAN and DAVID ANDERSON
Stratford East
Charley's Aunt
BRANDON THOMAS *Lyric, Hammersmith*

The moment I realised that the unnamed creature the couple at the centre of **Care** were keeping locked in a cupboard and fed with scraps of half-eaten food was actually their one and only child, I found it hard to respond to them with the detached interest and (sometimes) amusement that seemed to be expected of me; and I don't know whether this means there's something squeamish, or humane, or merely parental in my make-up. Had I been practising regular criticism back in 1966, I daresay I would have been among those reviewers who, faced with the stoning of the baby in *Saved*, impulsively reached for their sheriff's holsters and plugged that outlaw, its author, with several rounds of killer adjectives. I would like to think not, since it's apparent to me today how carefully and conscientiously Edward Bond carried through an undeniably useful purpose, which was to explain why and how such an atrocity could happen in everyday London; but I can't be confident I would have proved more enlightened than my esteemed colleague from *The Times*, who thought the play 'a systematic degradation of the human animal'. So should I too apologise for feeling much the same about *Care*?

The little girl in the closet occasionally sobs and wails but is never seen; and we spend the evening with parents who would appear to have rejected her as soon as she was born, perhaps because she turned out to be abnormal, perhaps because they themselves were too babyish to cope, perhaps both. The young mother is houseproud and bossy, but in fact abjectly dependent on the young father, a worker at Longbridge, who spills his food, reads the *Beano*, trots off for the occasional football match, yells aggressive nursery rhymes into his daughter's prison, and treats his wife with a profounder contempt than she ever dares direct at him. His response to the news that she's pregnant again is, first, to slope off and sulk in the pub, second, to fetch a black plastic bag from the kitchen and clear out that cupboard once and for all. Into the dustbin goes the tiny battered corpse, to both parents' evident relief, and we're left to wonder how much better the second, seemingly more wanted child will fare.

Is *Care* supposed to be a scathing social critique, a *Saved* for Birmingham 1983, or a study of individual immaturity and inadequacy? I suspect a bit of both: which makes it logical enough that it should, in fact, end up being not quite either. The character of the husband, in particular, is somewhat inscrutably drawn, and nothing, neither the skimpy information we're given about his background nor the intrusion of a friendly workmate with gruesome wife and irritating son, is remotely sufficient to explain why he has been impelled so dramatically to renounce parenthood. Perhaps Mr Mitchell is simply reminding us of what we already knew from the public prints, that horrifying cases of child-abuse do regularly occur, and admitting to the feelings of bewilderment and helplessness that, no doubt, we all already feel in the face of them. That doesn't take us very far, though. Nor is the investigation aided by dialogue that, even with a sensational secret and its possible discovery to add tension and spice, often seems intolerably long-winded. Oh, why not overcome my cowardly fear of succumbing to the oldest of critical diseases, that of refusing to face the uncomfortable truths it's the playwright's duty to throw at us, and say it straight out? This is a nasty, morbid play, and I hated it.

There's a certain fell consistency in my theatrical diet this week. Tinniswood's latest is a flimsy comedy dedicated to the proposition that the child is father to the man, mother to the woman, and an inescapable influence throughout our allegedly 'adult' lives. **Any Minute Now**, a not-very-eloquent anti-Bomb musical, comes closer than I would wish to asking us to applaud a

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mother who suffocates her progeny in a fit of nuclear dread. By comparison **Charley's Aunt** seems disgracefully innocent, with its goofy undergraduate slang, its puppyish frolickings, and gleefully sexless transvestite encounters. Griff Rhys Jones's Lord Babs, a Bunter with an unspoken dream of proving himself a Bernhardt, remains marvellously funny whether he's hiding a cigar behind his skirts, pouring tea into a hat, or po-facedly watching, listening and waiting to let drop yet another finely-timed brick. I loved it, and so did my 13-year-old daughter. □

FILMS

John Coleman

Media murder

The Executioner's Song (15)
Warner; Gate, Notting Hill
Identification of a Woman (18)
Camden Plaza
The Dark Crystal (PG) *Plaza*

Reviewer's rule of thumb: always mistrust a film that banners 'A TRUE STORY' up there on the screen. First, something is in effect pleading, I may be poor but at least I'm honest. Second, there is no such bird as 'truth', even if the appalling opportunist Lawrence Schiller did tape a zillion interviews with the double murderer Gary Gilmore and with his family and acquaintance for the freakish debt-ridden intelligence of Norman Mailer to turn into a 1,056-page Pulitzer prize-winner. (A previous Schiller-Mailer collaboration was the egregiously necrophiliac *Marilyn*, an ill omen.) Friends tell me that the fat Mailer book on Gilmore, who insisted on being put to death for unusual reasons and against a liberal outcry, and on the media jamboree that ensued, was pretty gripping stuff. That's also as may be. But now we have Schiller directing and producing a movie out of it, **The Executioner's Song,** boiled down by Mailer to two lengths, a four-hour TV show and this 135-minute cinema version. And the old heart starts sinking very early on, from the moment Tommy Lee Jones's bleak, raw-faced Gilmore – after a 12-year stretch for armed robbery – is welcomed home to Utah by vibrant and earthy Christine Lahti's cousin Brenda with these imperishable words: 'You know, Gary, I can't look at your eyes without feeling full of sadness.'

Since this Brenda is the only character around to create some human interest and sympathy, such a scripted nod is presumably meant to enlist the viewer's wink of compassion for the killer. If so, it chimes oddly with the chilly impressionism with which Gilmore's portrait is elsewhere sketched in: this fellow was clearly brutalised as a kid in remand home (he describes being raped and, grown bigger, raping in turn); his stresssed sexual inadequacy with the near-moronic, thrice-married 19-year-old Nicole (Rosanna Arquette) – who keeps hopefully asking him, 'Are you the Devil?' – may indicate prison-learnt preferences and provide a pathological spur to two barely motivated murders on successive days (he takes petty cash); he briefly articulates weird notions of karma and reincarnation, half-shared by susceptible Nicole and the apparent motive for his insistence on being capitally punished. Tommy Lee Jones gets all these behavioural scraps across with a sort of angry blankness made eerie by a lilting, little-boy, almost feminine gait, as if his lower half were out of kilter with his butch mug and torso. But he isn't given enough to furnish a whole person, anyone it is possible to give a damn about one way or the other.

And if this is true of the Gilmore-character, it is more cripplingly so for the whittled-down folk who surround him. A whole area of Bible-belt morality goes by default. Cousin Brenda excepted, a limper collection of small-town, tiny-minded, sleazy citizens it would be hard to imagine. Towards the end, there are intimations of sensationalist media ghoulishness (a kind of stand-in for Schiller figures) and there is the surrealistic juxtaposition of Gilmore's last party in jail with the grim, hastily improvised business of his execution by firing squad (ear-wads of cotton wool dished out to the audience in the prison cannery). For those in the know, it will seem entirely appropriate to this tasteless, because meaningless, exercise that the chaplain attendant at the movie-fusillade played the same role – and one uses the words advisedly – in real life and death. There must be better ways of making a buck.

Michelangelo Antonioni's **Identification of a Woman,** his first film to be set in contemporary Italy since the 1964 *The Red Desert,* has been serenaded as serenely accomplished, the ageing master at the height of his powers. It is unquestionably elegant and contains appearances, possibly performances, from two marvellous women encouraged to behave with supercharged eroticism. It also has a sequence on fog-bound country roads which has wowed some. Perhaps that fog is, after all, no bad metaphor for an occasion which shows Antonioni confidently revisiting the unconfident old territory that he notoriously broached in *L'Avventura,* definitively explored in *La Notte* (his finest picture) and did to death in *The Eclipse*. Worst of all, his 'new' subject is a film director, Niccolo (Tomas Milian), in search of a film. Surprise us.

This wan, handsome, weary and wordy egocentric is also in search, like many of us wan, etc., egocentrics, of his 'ideal' woman. In itself, this might be quite a quest, but Antonioni deepens the mystery and difficulty of things by only giving us bits of a non-story. Niccolo, whose only indication of film-making potential is a board pinned with photos of beautiful women *à la* Fellini, has started an affair with ravishing, strong-featured Mavi (Daniela Silverio), receives a phone call from – and talks in an ice-cream parlour to – a nondescript chap edgily warning him off, makes passionate love to the voracious high-society cover-girl during which she tells him she was a 'late virgin' and went to Atlantic College in Wales where they canoed and learnt life-saving (shown swiftly in flashback).

Niccolo's sister, a gynaecologist, loses her hospital job inexplicably; he spots a man spying on his flat; driving into the country with Mavi to get away from we never discover what, he runs into that episode of fog. Soon after this, and straight talk from Mavi about the difference between 'needing' and 'loving' which leaves Niccolo spellbound with admiration for her acuity, Mavi disappears. Our hero goes hunting her, turns up a lesbian past and current relationship, and then meets and beds the equally splendid young actress Ida (Christine Boisson): she has boyish hair, where Mavi's is mannish, but their quick, steamy relationship is no less foredoomed. This bit happens in moody Venice. A wicked waste of the distaff side of the cast, which shows Niccolo for the wimp he is, at the end deciding to make a science-fiction movie. Would he had at the start and saved us from this circuitous piece of pretension.

The Dark Crystal, directed by Jim Henson and Frank Oz, likewise suffers from plot trouble, giving us a fabulous world a millennium ago doomed to everlasting evil unless a boy Gelfling can find a shard from the eponymous Crystal and replace it when the Three Suns coincide. Confessedly, the characters were conceived of first and, as might be expected from these Muppet-masters, *they* are mostly magnificent, only the goodies – as so often in life – proving rather wet and dull. All manner of incredible technical and human miracles of love and skill have gone into producing the eye-rolling beasties: vulture-headed, mangy, crusty Skeksis, the baddies (who have a magnificent banquet scene with live dessert: 'Crawlies!'); a Gelfling pet who is all furry head and howling mouth; the black-armour-plated, octopussy-footed Garthim, awful mercenaries; a whole landscape of flora as likely as not be turned into mischievous fauna. The saving magic is to be performed at the time of the 'Great Conjunction'. In the last resort, the small and crabby conjunction has to be 'but . . .' □

Ruth Fainlight

Silk kimonos

Jade green and pale gold
under dark autumn cloud, worn flimsy
by rain and frost and wind, the plane's
leaves shift across their boughs
and the closed fronts of houses like silk
kimonos over dancers' limbs.

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WEEKEND COMPETITION

No 2758 **Set by C. Fever**

Now that the *Daily Star* has renounced chit-chat about our current royals, perhaps it will have a belated go at Henry VIII, Charles II, Boadicea, etc. Sample stories, please, of up to 140 words. By 4 March.

No 2755 **Set by B. Mooring**

Versified Valentines for the Thatchers, Reagans, Webbs and Waleses.

Report **By Len the Unlucky**

You see before you a broken man. 'Got lucky, did you?' asked Mr Squiffy when I entered his office to watch the old brute sorting through the heaps of suggestive messages which usually come his way. I checked my pigeon-hole again, just to make sure. Nothing but an unfriendly-looking envelope from the Inland Revenue. My head throbs with thoughts that lie too deep for tears. As for you, take your eight quid each and go. I want to be alone.

Maggie to Dennis

You've stood by my side for acclaim,
You've stood by my side for the mockery.
I give you the heart of this dame
(You can use it to add to your rockery).
These tears show just how much I care,
In spite of what everyone thinks;
They're yours, for the hardships we share
(You can use them for chilling your drinks).

N. J. WARBURTON

Sidney to Beatrice

Dear Beatrice, observe my plight!
I languish at your door.
I'll gladly undertake to write
Our very own Clause Four.
Our intercourse will thrive, no doubt,
On socialist instruction;
And, if you wish, we will leave out
The means of reproduction.

PETER NORMAN

Denis to Margaret

More bracing than a g and t
And never under par;
Revered and feared, you've conquered me –
Grim lady, iron Czar!
As moderate as Robert Relf,
Right-thinking, resolute;
Each Feb. 14th I steel myself
To say: I think you're cute.

I. D. BEARDS

Chas to Di

You know, a chap feels awful silly
To find the words to say . . . oh, Lawks.
But to put it this way: little Willie
Did not spring up from cabbage stalks.

Look, dash it all, a chap must try
To compliment the gel he wedded.
If you'll be mine this day, dear Di –
Nahee, my Capitaine, I'm deaded!

BASIL RANSOME-DAVIES

Chas to Di

Oh, one's the only one for one,
One's love for one will never fail
One worships one just like the *Sun*,
The *Star*, *Express* or *Daily Mail*.
One's heart's as full as Harrod's vans
That stretch in never-ending line,
And so one has one's princely plans
To make one's one one's Valentine.

E. O. PARROTT

Beatrice to Sidney

From B to S; I must confess
This card's anachronistic,
But you will find the margins free
For jotting down some socially
Significant statistic.

Sidney to Beatrice

You are my filing cabinet
That lightens all my chores,
I find just what I need inside
Your smoothly sliding drawers.

STANLEY J. SHARPLESS

FIRST PERSON

Anne Smith

Dirty joke

IT MAY BE NAIVE to say so, but I can't for the life of me see why so many pundits protest about pornography (the ordinary adult ecstasy sort that is – child pornography is a different thing entirely, but I can't see it follows for the other). I mean, it's a long time since people believed that masturbation would drive you mad; indeed, it seems to be positively encouraged now with all those (pardon the pun) handy tips in sex manuals and even, in America, stimulating group-lessons on the subject. Perhaps they'll marry it to aerobics, which I gather is exercise to music. I can just see it: 'You put your right hand in/You put your right hand out . . . and you shake it all about/Oh! pokey pokey pokey! Oh! –'

Well, it's hard to take the thing seriously. Mine, you see, was not a sheltered childhood. My acquaintance with sexual matters goes back a long way. In fact, you'd probably have to visit the V & A to understand the first dirty joke I heard, when I was five, for it involved a visual pun about the black-lead brushes our mothers used to clean the cast-iron fire grates with. When I was young, they called sex 'the facts of life', and to this day I can't hear the phrase without experiencing again the sensation of a ragged boy stroking my thighs under a wooden desk – a welcome distraction from the tedium of reading aloud round the class. Sex play was great fun and took its place, surreptitiously, among more serious games like 'The Three Musketeers': in our version, when D'Artagnan visited his lady on the quiet, she promptly and obligingly took down her knickers.

Recently a friend passed on to me a sheaf of catalogues for video porn, and it took me back to those crude days of my youth, when we all revelled in our dirty-mindedness. The language is similar – the constant repetition of key words ('pulsating' 'erotic' 'total'), the wild exaggerations – and the narrow range of the fantasies too, all culled from the bible, comics, fairytales and the movies.

Judgement Day, for example, is described as a 'very unusual tale of two lovers' who find themselves outside the Pearly Gates: 'A feisty St. Peter' at first 'bars their entry', along with their friends. 'Action galore' follows as 'the souls' relive their last orgiastic moments, to present to St. Peter 'the true facts of their demise'. But in the end, as you might have guessed, 'St. Peter is a prude and since all petitioning "souls" have a blemished and abnormal sex record, he banishes them all from Paradise except Will and Mona whom he returns to Earth because of their special circumstances.' In *Angel Above and the Devil Below*, 'the Devil takes hold of a teenage girl's private parts, forcing her to become a promiscuous nymphomaniac.' *Hell Prison* is succinctly described as 'erotic horror and immoral sex in a South American female prison.'

The blurb for *Deadly Weapons* could easily stand on the cover of one of those masterpieces of American propaganda, a *Sergeant Rock* comic – 'See Chesty Morgan's twin torpedoes in action'! Remember *The Six Million Dollar Man?* Somebody's spent another couple of thousand for *The Senator's Daughter:* 'Government surgeons create a bionic replacement for the Sex Star's missing tool – and what a replacement it is!' Fairy tales, too acquire another dimension: 'There's the genie-in-the-jar, whose adventures with the noblewoman and her two daughters go beyond Aladdin's wildest wishes,' while *Desperate Living* 'takes the standard fairy tale plot to its outrageous limits with a wicked queen who fancies leather boys, the saving of her daughter by a lesbian transsexual uprising and other satirical nonsense.'

Of course it's the absurdity and bathos of the language of the catalogues that amuses, not the films themselves: 'We see one of the most erotic and exciting pieces of sex play ever devised for a pool table, culminating in five screaming mutual orgasms' (right on cue, no doubt): 'Claudine is black, very beautiful, and a total nymphomaniac'; 'with joyous abandon, tasting the sexy juices of life in all its flavours ["I wonder, do you have cheese and pineapple?"], savouring every moment of her womanhood'; 'both men and women give vent to their sexual desires and frustrations whilst the mob seeks them out'; 'a young girl whose great ambition is to experience the ultimate in sex-senssations through her body'; 'four nubile sisters and their erotic aunt' and so on through to the promise of ' . . . fulfilment of everything you desire! The adventures of a beautiful girl subjected to torrid rape and humiliation'. Take out the direct references to sex and rape, and this is the sensational language of the movie posters of my childhood. Can't remember when I've laughed so much – but I don't think I want to see the product . . . it could never match up. □

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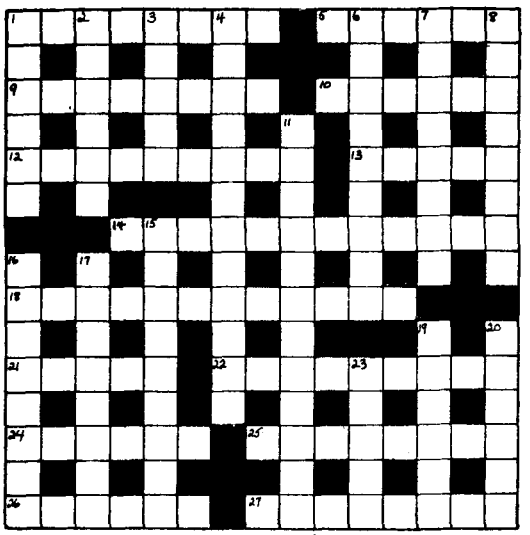
Weekend Crossword 1391

PRIZES: £5 Book Tokens for the first three correct solutions opened. Entries to Crossword 1391, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU, by first post 1 March.



ACROSS

1. Shell gives vehicle a bit of speed. (8)
5. Spells of writing after places for holidays. (6)
9. Strange intruders make old woman change trains. (8)
10. Sturdy vehicle needed in mountain retreat. (6)
12. Disease which spoils pride about family line. (9)
13. Lime seen in the moors once in a while. (5)
14. Accommodation for crew in all directions? (4,8)
18. Where the May Day oracle is interpreted in Piccadilly. (5, 7)
21. Gravity in the thing here coming back in view. (5)
22. Kind of life you may find in E.C.16. (9)
24. Teacher interrupted by students' lark is a terrifying creature. (6)
25. Plant makes a struggle round the border. (8)
26. Cease from backing plots I seditiously organize. (6)
27. Wrong but the rest rewrite and don't fail. (8)

DOWN

1. The most lamentable ———— and most cruel death' *(MND)*. (6)
2. It is most unusual to idle beneath the sun. (6)
3. Leading with edge in middle. (5)
4. Plots consisting of swindles and robberies. (12)
6. Record makes young aristocrat go back into carriage. (9)
7. A girl in a group is snubbed. (7)
8. One who goes to the devil shows gratitude in the destruction of saints. (8)
11. It adds spice when there is a redhead on the pitch. (6, 6)
15. Sacrifices are enough to make a lion boast. (9)
16. Was the head, but was paid if he didn't have to be in residence. (8)
17. It helps one to see, for example, about you and a girl. (8)
19. Where a woman is without company. (6)
20. Castle which shows my being situated amid four points. (6)
23. Music for one in a backward class. (5)

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Telex – 28499.
To reply to a Box, write to Box No. ... at the above address

Holidays/Travel

ATHENS, CORINTH, MARATHON

25 April-8 May, £180 (By Coach)

ATHENS: view the May Day demo, see the PARTHENON and Acropolis meet the Greek TUC Leaders

CORINTH: The canal and Roman city

MARATHON: Battlefield, Lake and Temple

PRICE INCLUDES all sight-seeing and all breakfasts and dinners

YORKSHIRE TOURS, 49 Thornton Lodge Road, Huddersfield HD1 3JQ
Phone 0484 24269

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1983 TRAVEL

2-10 APRIL:
LAKE GARDA, VENICE, VERONA £120
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PYRENEES £140
28 MAY-6 JUNE:
LAKE GARDA, VENICE, VERONA £135
LAKE BALATON and BUDAPEST £135
30 JULY-9 AUGUST:
LAKE BALATON and BUDAPEST £180
PRAGUE 30 April-2 May (for May Day) £55
PARIS 30 April-2 May (for May Day) £40
ATHENS 25 April-8 May (for May Day) £180
MOSCOW by train 28 May-7 June, 23 July-2 Aug. £180
KIEV by train 28 May-7 June, 23 July-2 Aug. £180
YUGOSLAV RIVIERA 15-27 June £145
LENINGRAD 2-14 July, 16-28 July £180
LENINGRAD and MURMANSK 13-25 Aug. £210
ROME, PISA, FLORENCE 27 Aug.-5 Sept. £150
IRKUTSK and LAKE BAIKAL 12 June-1 July £280

YORKSHIRE TOURS
49 Thornton Lodge Road, Huddersfield, HD1 3JQ
Telephone: 0484 24269

ARCHAEOLOGY IN ISRAEL. Volunteer diggers needed for that different holiday next summer. Send s.a.e. to Project 67 (NS), 36 Gt Russell Street WC1. 01-636 1261.

WEST COAST of Ireland. Holiday here. Stay at Avondale Guest House, Mulranny, Co. Mayo.

FRANCE next door Monaco, very tiny house. Lovely Roquebrune village, sleeps 2. Weekly May-October. Tel: 01-589 5065.

JOURNEY LATIN AMERICA. Low cost flights, holiday journeys. 3-6 weeks. JLA, 10 Barleymow Passage, London W4. 01-747 3108.

Appointments

PSI IOD ISKA ISP

PUBLIC SERVICES INTERNATIONAL

(PSI) an International trade union organisation representing over nine million public service workers is seeking:

SECRETARY FOR FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

The successful applicant will be the senior member of the management team with special responsibility for:
- maintaining an efficient administrative organisation
- the financial conduct of the PSI
- contributing to the development of policy

The post becomes vacant upon the relocation to the Geneva area and some foreign travel may be required.

Demonstrated experience of a substantial and relevant nature together with a commitment to the principles of the international free trade union movement will be of prime advantage.

Duties to commence from July 1983 or earlier at a salary and terms to be negotiated.

Full details and application form on request for submission before 18 March 1983 from:

The General Secretary, Public Services International, Central Way, Feltham, Middx., Great Britain, or telephone 01-751 0162 ext. 44.

Jobs Abroad

PUT UP TENTS in France or pick plums in Britain. 'Summer Jobs Abroad' and 'Summer Jobs in Britain' both list 30,000 varied vacancies and cost £3.95 each from bookshops or Vac-Work, 9 Park End St, Oxford.

USA SUMMER JOBS: Ranches, resorts, etc. Up to £150 p.w. Directory listing 50,000 jobs in W. H. Smith etc. or £5.95 from Vac-Work, 9 Park End St, Oxford.

CEOA: ADMINISTRATOR REQUIRED FOR CAMPAIGN FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE ARTS (initially for one year). Salary £7,899 p.a. We need someone with knowledge of administration in the Arts, the needs of Ethnic Minorities and Community Networks. Application to Chairman CEOA, Africa Centre, 38 King Street, WC2. Closing date 28 February.

OV SELECTION CATERS for the more mature person as well as graduates and 'A' level students with typing and office skills. Phone Odette Veazey, OV Selection (Emp. Agy.) Abford House, 15 Wilton Road, London, SW1V 1LT. 01-828 8345.

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Appointments

THE LABOUR PARTY

requires a

PRESS OFFICER

Salary range: £9,635-£11,175 p.a. (depending on appropriate experience in a similar capacity)

This post is one of a team of three, reporting to the Director of Publicity, which is responsible for the Labour Party's relations with the news media at all levels, organising news conferences and briefings, contributing to the Party's general publicity activities and publicity support for campaign activity.

Journalist skills and working experience in newspapers, broadcasting, public relations or information services are essential. The successful applicant will be an NUJ member. Membership of the Labour Party is essential. The Labour Party is an equal opportunities employer.

Application forms are obtainable from: **The Administrative and Personnel Officer, The Labour Party, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17 1JT (Tel. 01-703 0833)** and should be returned no later than **Friday, 4 March 1983.** Interviews and appointment will take place in March.

NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

EDUCATION ASSISTANT

Following the secondment of a key member of our Education Staff, a vacancy exists for an EDUCATION ASSISTANT for a fixed term of 12 months, to commence as soon as possible.

The post holder will assist in servicing the Education and Training Sub-Committee of the Executive Council, preparing education material, helping to organise and run our National Training Programme, and liaising with the TUC.

Applicants must preferably have experience in organising and teaching within the Trade Union movement.

The current salary for the post is on the scale £7,309-£8,283 plus a London Weighting Allowance of £1,157.57.

Application forms can be obtained from: **Mr Tom Sawyer, Deputy General Secretary, NUPE, Civic House, 20 Grand Depot Road, Woolwich, London SE18 6SF. Telephone: 01-854 2244;** to whom they should be returned by 18 March 1983.

NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

JOURNALISTS

The National Union of Public Employees is looking for two experienced journalists to take responsibility for, and to develop, the Union's Press and Publicity work. NUPE is a campaigning Public Sector union at the forefront of industrial and political issues. Therefore, applicants must have a strong and proven commitment to the Labour movement. A sound knowledge of the media is essential, as is an ability to help run major campaigns such as the fight against privatisation and the cuts.

The two journalists would also be responsible for producing the Union Journal – so a lively writing style and production experience is essential.

The salary is on the scale £9,258-£10,232 plus a London Weighting Allowance of £1,157.57.

The post holders would be responsible to the Deputy General Secretary, Tom Sawyer, to whom written applications must be sent (including a full CV) by 18 March at the following address: **Civic House, 20 Grand Depot Road, Woolwich, London SE18 6SF.**

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amnesty international

requires an

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

to work on Amnesty International's USSR concerns in the Research Department of the International Secretariat.

The Executive Assistant is primarily responsible for liaising with Amnesty International's adoption groups and others to provide information relating to human rights in the area. Background knowledge and an interest in the area required. Fluent English and Russian essential. The Executive Assistant must be able to type well and be fully self-servicing.

Salary £7,834.08 per annum (index-linked).

For a detailed job specification and application form send a large SAE to:

The Personnel Department, Amnesty International, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF.

Closing date for the return of completed application forms: 31 March, 1983.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMS TRADE

is a network of groups and individuals working for a end to Britain's arms exports (NB not nuclear) and for conversion of industry to socially useful production.

The London office requires a SECOND WORKER to start early March. Must have proven skills as an organiser, ability to encourage supporters' action, good command of English and ability to handle large quantities of facts intelligently and efficiently. Experience of paste-up and one foreign language an advantage. Commitment to non-violence essential.

Salary £4,000-£4,500 : Send full CV to:
Applications CAAT, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1

No reply without s.a.e.–Closing date: 2 March 1983

Personal Assistant to Leader of the Labour Group

Grade PO1A

£10,251-£11,310 p.a. inc.

The post will involve research, personal assistance and administrative support for the Leader of the Council.

The postholder will be required to undertake highly responsible work with Councillors, senior council officers, the voluntary sector and Members of Parliament.

He or she will be expected to carry out sometimes complex research projects and activities as well as taking administrative charge of the Leader's office.

Initiative, intelligence and discretion are the main qualities required along with a sympathy for and understanding of the policies of the Labour Group.

BRENT IS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER. APPLICATIONS ARE WELCOME FROM CANDIDATES REGARDLESS OF RACE, NATIONALITY, ETHNIC OR NATIONAL ORIGINS, AGE, MARITAL STATUS, SEX, SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND FROM REGISTERED DISABLED PERSONS.

Application forms and job descriptions from the Personnel Division, Room 708, Brent House, High Road, Wembley, Middlesex, returnable by 11 March 1983. Telephone 01-903 0371 (24-hour Ansafone service). Reference number C/454 must be quoted.

London Borough of
BRENT

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Birmingham Trade Union Resource Centre

Clerical Worker/Receptionist

Birmingham Trade Union Resource Centre exists to complement existing trade union facilities and offers a research and resource facility for trade unionists in the area. We wish to appoint a clerical worker/receptionist with appropriate skills and experience and a proven commitment to the trade union movement.

Salary scale AP3

Closing date for applications: **4 March, 1983**

Further details and application forms from:

Tricia Davis, Co-ordinator, Birmingham Trade Union Resource Centre, Victoria Works, 7 Frederick Street, Birmingham B1 3HE
Telephone: 021-236 8323

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PETER COXSON Literary/Academic Typing (Est 1960). 01-584 0198; 01-642 1001.

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Tel. 0611-497433

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University of London

SUMMER WORKSHOP IN CREATIVE WRITING

Intensive sessions in a small group meeting on Wednesday evenings.

Details from the Course Tutor: Dr Paula Neuss, or Secretary: Diana Godden, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX. Tel: 01-580 6622 (24-hour service on 01-637 9563).

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF FLORENCE

Offers a wide range of courses during 1983 in a most attractive Florentine setting. There are courses in the Italian language at all levels, the Italian Renaissance and Drawing. Magnificent library and study facilities. Accommodation arranged if required. Full details are contained in our 1983 prospectus available from

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British Institute
Lungarno Guicciardini 9, FLORENCE
Tel: 010-39 55 284 031

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Wide range of BA/BSc and MA/MSc courses as well as research supervision for MPhil and PhD degrees. This is a small selection of our MA/MSc courses – interviews will be held in June 1983 for admission October 1983.

MA Classical Civilisation
MA Commonwealth History
MA French/Italian/Spanish
MA Historical Geography
MA Philosophy
MSc Politics & Administration
MA Social & Economic History

MA courses in Classics, German and Hispanic Studies are run in collaboration with other Colleges.

Details: Assistant Registrar, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX. Tel: 01-637 9563 (direct line with answering machine outside office hours).

LISTINGS

THUR 10 FEB

LONDON SE1 Upper Heyford Peace Camp open meeting prior to 4-day blockade in Spring. 7pm County Hall Room 180.

LONDON W1 Common Security, a Programme for Disarmament. Spkr Dr David Owen, MP. 8pm Bland-Sutton Lecture Theatre, Middlesex Hospital, Cleveland Street.

FRI 18 FEB

LONDON W1 History Workshop – Second World War Study Group meeting 8pm "Wheatsheaf", 25 Rathbone Place, London W1.

WELSHPOOL Unilateral nuclear disarmament. Debate with Bob Cryer, MP, Owen Hardwicke, Delwyn Williams, MP, Admiral Sir Michael Pollock. 7.30pm Welshpool Town Hall.

LEAMINGTON SPA New Variety Night with Orchestre Jazira (ten piece African band playing traditional & modern african music, especially highlife.) 8-1am The Spa Centre, Leamington. Tickets £2.

GLASGOW "Labour's Programme" organised by Scotstown LP. Spkrs N. Kinnock, R. Cook, D. Wiseman, J. Reid, D. Henderson. 7.30pm Victoria Drive Secondary School, Scotstoun.

SAT 19 FEB

LIVERPOOL "Are you being Cured to Death". Conference on the drug industry. Workshops plus spkr, Arabella Melville, co-author of the controversial book "Cured to Death". 11am-4pm. Friends Meeting House, Paradise Street.

SOUTHAMPTON Peace festival Workshops, slide/tape show plus entertainment in evening. Organised by University CND. Venue – University campus. Registration (costing £2) from 10.30am.

LONDON, WC1. "Words into Action – 1983 – The Year of Cruise and Trident". Films, speakers, workshops, direct action. Organised by Inter Hospitals Health Students for Nuclear Disarmament. 9.30am-6.00pm. Registration fee £3. ULU Building, Malet Street.

BIRMINGHAM Christian CND Benefit Concert. David Carroll and Michael Keelan. 7.30pm. St Martins in the Bullring.

SUN 20 FEB

LONDON WC1 What Went Wrong? Jeremy Seabrook. 11am Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

20-21 FEB. Women in Booktrades Conference, Nottingham. Workshops and discussions for women in libraries, bookshops, printing, publishing and distribution. Creche, access for disabled. Queen's Walk Community Centre. Further info from Gill, Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester.

MON 21 FEB

SOUTHEND Roy Hattersley, MP. Organised by Southend CLP. 7.30pm College of Technology (next to Civic Centre).

LONDON SW11 "The Peace Game". Battersea CND presents a video of the MoD film. Guest speaker Richard Clauston, prospective Tory MP for Merthyr Tydfil. 7.30pm The Junction Resource Centre, 248 Lavender Hill, SW11.

LONDON SW15 Ban Lead in Petrol. Public meeting organised by Putney Labour Party with speakers Peter Hain, Des Wilson and Robin Russell Jones. 7.45pm at the Dryburgh Hall, Corner Upper Richmond Road, and Dryburgh Road, SW15. Details **788 8961**.

BIRMINGHAM "Peace Camps in Britain" – exhibition of photos by Ed Barber at Holt St Gallery, Triangle Arts Centre, Gosta Gree. Until 11 March. 12 noon-6pm free. West Midlands Region CND.

LONDON WC1 "The Psychology of Religion Do we need to believe in God?" Lord Soper and Professor H. J. Eysenck. 7.30-9.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Arranged by British Humanist Association.

TUES 22 FEB

LONDON SW2 "British State – Shoots to Kill" public forum organised by Fight Racism, Fight Imperialism. Adm 30p 7.30pm. Brixton Town Hall.

LIVERPOOL The GLC and municipal socialism. Spkrs John McDonnell, Chairman F&GPC of GLC. Meeting organised by Liverpool Socialist Society. 7.30pm. YMCA, Mt. Pleasant, L1. Childcare provided.

LONDON N7 "Where is British Television Going?". Open Lecture by Julian Barnes, Television Critic of *The Observer*. 2-3pm in The Theatre, the Polytechnic of North London, Holloway Road, London N7. (nearest tube/Holloway Road on the Piccadilly Line.) Admission free without ticket.

LONDON W14 Unilateral Disarmament the case for and against put by Mgr. Bruce Kent, General Secretary, CND and Michael (Lord) Stewart, former Labour Foreign Secretary. Organised by BANG, Barons Court Anti-Nuclear Group. 8pm St Andrews Church Hall, Greyhound Road, London W14.

LONDON Anti-Trident lobby of Parliament.

WED 23 FEB

LONDON SE1 Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine public meeting. Spkrs Ron Brown (MP for Leith), Tariq Ali, Moshe Machover (from Matzpen), Lena (from Women for Palestine), plus a representative of the Lebanese National Movement. 7pm. County Hall.

THURS 24 FEB

STRATFORD West Midlands. Public meeting with Mike Pentz at Stratford Town Hall at 8pm. Organised by local CND.

SOUTHEND The Labour Party and Animal Welfare. Spkrs. Richard Course (League Against Cruel Sports), Kim Stallwood (BUAV), Nigel Smith (Labour Party). 8pm Labour Hall, Cambridge Road.

LONDON, NW1 "Marxism and Labourism – what are the crucial differences?" Discussion organised by the North London Revolutionary Communist Party to commemorate the Karl Marx centenary. Spkr. Frank Richards (editor of Revolutionary Communist Papers). £1 at door for session. 7.30pm. Camden Library, Regents Park branch, Compton Close, Roberts Street, London, NW1. (Warren Street tube).

LONDON, SE16 Bermondsey Election Victory Celebrations – join the Revolutionary Communist candidate Fran Eden. 8pm until late. Jolly Gardeners pub, Rotherhithe New Road, London SE16.

FORTHCOMING

London Branch of SCIENTISTS AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS – Informed scientists are now available to speak on Nuclear Issues, such as Civil Defence, Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence, etc. at meetings and debates in or near London. Contact Tom Kibble **876 7576** or Philip Webber **589 5111 x.2309.**

AUSCHWITZ EXHIBITION. The Exhibition will be open for five weeks from Thursday, 24 February at St George's in the East Church, Cannon Street Road, London, E1.

25 FEB Peace and Disarmament. Spkr, Stan Newens, MP. Organised by Southend Labour Party. 8pm. Labour Hall, Cambridge Road, Southend.

26 FEB Kidderminster March and Rally from Summerfield Research Station 10.30pm to Kidderminster Town Hall. Rally there with speakers 12 noon. Organised by local CND.

27 FEB Birmingham Despair Workshop at Woodbrooke College with Paul Fink as facilitator. 10am to 4pm. £5 waged £2 unwaged. Organised by West Midlands CND.

28 FEB Bexleyheath CND Public Meeting Gwyn Kirk from the Greenham Common Peace Camp, plus film on the Peace Camp and a performance by Bexley CND Street Theatre Group. 8pm at the Roberts Hal, Christchurch, the Broadway, Bexleyheath, Kent.

6 MARCH Cheshire 5 mile Peace Chain from Capenhurst to Neston. Repsort to Capenhurst or Marconi to be positioned from 10.30am. "Link" from 12 to 1pm, marching back from Marconi at 1pm. Rally and national spkrs (including Frank Allaun, MP) 3pm at Capen hurst.

12 MARCH Bradford March against Cruise and Trident. Contact Simon Stewart on **Bradford 493317.**

7 MARCH Nottingham Public debate between Mgr Bruce Kent (Gen Sec CND) and Michael Brotherton (Tory MP for Louth) on "Nuclear Weapons – Your Chance to Question". 7.30pm at the Rainbow Rooms, Broad Street, Nottingham. Organised by Nottingham CND.

Sorry, but we can't accept entries over the phone. Entries must be received by Friday preceding issue date. We reserve the right to exclude items without giving reasons and are not responsible for errors. Space is strictly limited so if you definitely want your item to appear, we suggest you book it as an ad. under the appropriate classified heading. See main heading for rates, etc.

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CC Hotline 930 9232

Transferred from Hampstead
MAUREEN LIPMAN
"a stunning performance" Gdn. in
MESSIAH
by Martin Sherman
Eves. at 7.45pm. Mats. Weds. at 3pm
Sats. 5 and 8.30pm

COMEDY 930 2578
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from Theatre Royal, Stratford
Nell Dunn's first stage play
"laughter, hard truth and compassion" Sun. Times
voted Comedy of the Year '81 (SWET)
Seats £2.50-£6.50

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Theatres

APOLLO VICTORIA. 01-834 6177. Opening 5 March – Limited Season.
WAYNE SLEEP
'The most exciting dancer in the world' with his record breaking show
DASH
Outrageously funny' D. Tel.
Tel bkgs 01-828 8665. Sales 01-379 6061. Party bkgs 01-828 6188.

BARBICAN THEATRE. 01-628 8795, cc 01-638 8891, 24 hour info. 01-628 2295. Few day seats £3 from 10 a.m.
ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY
'THE WINTER'S TALE' seats avail. 19 & 28 Feb. & final perfs 1, 2 March. 'HENRY IV PT 1 & II' 21-23 Feb., 'ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL' final perfs 24-26 Feb. THE PIT – 'THE TWIN RIVALS' to 19 Feb. 21 Feb.-16 March 'ONE YEAR ON' – RSC's Barbican Festival an exciting series of special events. For info. send s.a.e. to Pit Admin., Barbican Centre, EC2Y 8BQ.

NATIONAL THEATRE. 01-928 2252. Olivier (open stage) *'Guys and Dolls'. Lyttelton (proscenium stage)* 'A Map of the World', 'Way Upstream', 'The Importance of Being Earnest'. Cottesloe (small auditorium) 'Small Change'. See daily press for dates and times or ring recorded information 01-928 2256.

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE, EC1. 01-278 8916 (5 lines). CC Grp sa. 01-379 6061.
Until 5 Mar. Eves 7.30. 26 Feb. Mat. 2.30 **NEW SADLER'S WELLS OPERA** – 18 & 23 Feb. **Mikado.** 19 & 21 Feb. **Countess Maritza.** 22 & 25 Feb. **Count of Luxembourg.**
THE WELLS' STAGECOACH: Before & after show Bus Service. Phone Box Office for details.
AMPLE FREE PARKING aft. 6.30 p.m.

THEATRE GOERS please note: cc – Credit cards; S – Student standby.

Fabian Society
Day Conference
Labour's Industrial Policy
4 March GLC
£7 (£10 non-members)
Speakers: Paul Ormerod, Alan McGarvey, Robin Murray, Stan Orme, Gerard Fairtlough, Steve Hoier, Chris Bromley

For further information on the
FABIAN SOCIETY
write to:
Ian Martin, General Secretary, Fabian Society, 11b Dartmouth Street, London SW1H 9BN.
Tel. 01-222 8877

Name .....
Address .....
.....
.....

CRITIQUE CONFERENCE

Marx After Stalin

FRIDAY 4-SATURDAY 5 MARCH

University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1

The aim of the conference is to discuss Marxism in terms of the impact of Stalinism upon it, and to ask whether the oft-asserted crisis in Marxism is in fact only a crisis of a Stalinised version of it. Through plenaries and workshops we will examine the impact of Stalinism upon Marxism in both theory and practice.

PROGRAMME:
Fri. 4 March
7.30 p.m. –
Marxism after Stalinism – Hillel Ticktin, Nigel Harris et al.
Sat. 5 March
10.00 a.m. –
Stalinism, Historical Materialism and Marxist Method – Chris Arthur, Scott Meikle, Jonathan Ree.
11.45 a.m. –
WORKSHOPS: S. Meikle 'Stalinist Method and the Alternative'; D. H. Ruben 'The Nature of Historical Materialist Explanation'; C. Arthur 'Stalinism and Dialectics'; N. Geras 'Marx and Human Nature'; R. Edgley 'The Problem of Violence'; S. Clarke 'Idealism and Materialism in Marxism.'
2.00 p.m. –
WORKSHOPS: R. Sutcliffe 'Marxism, Stalinism and Underdevelopment'; M. Davies 'Marxism in America'; B. Hirson 'Marxism and the National Question'; Middle East Forum on 'What a Nationalist Party Has Borrowed from the Stalinist Model – a Case Study'; N. Harding 'Lenin's Marxism and Its Legacy on the Soviet State'; D. Law 'Trotsky's Marxism'; P. O'Donnell 'Marxism, Stalinism and Psychology'; A. Smith 'Planning After Stalin'; K. Marshall 'Feminism or Marxism?'
5.15 p.m. –
PLENARY: Open Forum on the 'USSR in the World System'

DETAILS FROM: CRITIQUE, 31 CLEVEDEN ROAD, GLASGOW G12 0PH - TEL: 041-339 5267
£5 waged, £2 students, free for claimants

Meetings

THE CHURCH AND THE BOMB. Day conference on the important Church of England Report. Royal Institution, Liverpool, Saturday 26 February. Details from Institute of Extension Studies, Liverpool University, PO Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX (Tel: 051-709 6022 Ext 2779).

THEOSOPHY: S.a.e. for free pamphlets, book list programme of activities. Public Talk Sunday 26 February 8 p.m. 'Sleep and Dreams'. ULT, 63 Queen's Gardens, London W2 3AL.

THE FIRST-EVER
public meeting in London with PLO and Israeli speakers organised by a Jewish group.
Hear **URI AVNERI,** *editor of Israel's largest weekly and* **DR ISSAM SARTAWI,** *a leading member of the PLO's Palestine National Council.*
COUNTY HALL, WESTMINSTER
Sunday, 27 February 6pm
Organised by Campaign for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, a Jewish initiative.

SCHOOL OF MEDITATION
MEDITATION
Hear about Meditation at Public Meeting
Thursday 24 February, 7.30 p.m.
Admission 60p
SCHOOL OF MEDITATION
158 Holland Park Avenue
London W11. Tel: 01-603 6116
(Tube: Holland Park)

Workshop

CONTEMPORARY WRITING FOR THE THEATRE
5 Day Writing Workshop with
CARYL PHILLIPS & HANIF KUREISHI
11-16 April 1983
Details of this and other Writing Courses from (SAE)
The Arvon Foundation, Lumb Bank, Hebden Bridge, W. Yorks HX7 6DF 0422 843714

Financial

IMMEDIATE ADVANCES £100-£25,000. Written terms on request. Regional Trust Ltd, 31 Dover Street, London W1A 4RT. 01-491 2934.

LOANS £200-£100,000 mortgages, Universal Investments. Ingrebourne 43636 or 01-470 2574.

SALARIED PERSONS Postal Loans Ltd. Loans from £50. 175 Regent Street, W1. For written quote apply: Tel. 01-734 1974.

SAME DAY LOANS and postal loans unsecured: £100-£200. Secured loans. £1,000-£100,000. 100% mortgages arranged. For written quotation: Richmond Investments, 4 The Green, Richmond, Surrey. 01-940 2929/9835. Established 1934.

Beds

PINE BEDS, handmade, sold direct from our workshop: Taurus Pine Beds, 266 Belsize Road, Kilburn, London NW6. Tel: 01-624 3024. Singles £52, doubles £59.

Publications

EASTERN EUROPE catalogues available. A. C. Hall, 30 Staines Road, Twickenham, TW2 5AH.

'HELP YOUR child to read'. Twenty page booklet packed with detailed professional guidance, £1. W. Beet, BSc, 55 Caldy Road, West Kirby, Wirral, Merseyside, L48 2HF.

'MEMOIRS OF TELEMANN with related Thoughts on Reconciliation' £2.35 inc. p.&p. Gorsaf Drysiwyn, Carmarthen, Dyfed.

MODERN FIRST EDITIONS. Charlotte Robinson with Cookham Bookshop, Peter Jolliffe & Clearwater Books at 35 Gt Pulteney St, London W1. 01-437 3683. 2 mins. Piccadilly Circus, Mon.-Fri. 11-6. Specialists in Modern Firsts, Childrens & Illustrated Books. Catalogues issued.

REVIEW COPIES and other books in fine condition bought and sold by Vermilion Books, 57 Red Lion Street, London WC1. Tel: 01-242 5822.

Accom. Vacant

CAMBRIDGE HOUSE: large, 4 bedrooms, two thirds acre garden & terrace backing onto river Cam and fields. 5 min. bike ride City centre & colleges. About 6-8 weeks mid-late Feb. to mid April. Dates flexible. £120 p.w. Tel: (0869) 40467.

EAST ACTON: to let, large 4 bedroom house, with garden. Details from Box 5490.

Personal

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